Freedom at the Gallows

Life and Times of
Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro

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Sain Publishers Sehwan Sharif

I dedicate this book to the memory of those brave Hurs who laid down their lives for freedom.

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Introduction

Sain G.M. Sayed was a torchbearer of culture and tradition and his contribution to education, mastery over mysticism and his worldview of the political and social ethos of Modern Sindh were widely acknowledged. One of his most enduring legacies, however, is the series of tracts and writings he published in honour of the nationalist heroes of Sindh; some of which were first delivered at cultural conferences.

A most notable among these tracts was Sindh-ja-Sorma (Brave Sons of Sindh). Also, on the platform of the Bazame-Sufiae-Sindh, he had organised 12 conferences in Sindh, where he and other men of letters enlightened the people on Sindh and its valiant sons.

In one memorable sermon, he said: " By paying tributes and preaching the universal message of heroes, a fresh spirit would be instilled in the Sindhis and that same spirit would ultimately inculcate character within them".

In Sayed's estimate, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah II Pir Pagaro's name ranked high among those who did Sindh proud, and that has naturally inspired me to write about this great son of Sindh.

The Pir Pagaro family has produced poets, writers, intellectuals, politicians, and philanthropists, but the patriotic role of this family is of paramount significance.

The famous rebellion of 1893-1896 and second in October 1941 is glaring examples of the nationalistic mind of the Pir Pagaro family. The British authorities used every tactics to thwart the movement but to no avail. The oriental and British forces killed and injured thousands of the Hurs. They made concentration camps in Sindh and the then Bombay to restrict the activities of the Hur brotherhood. They bombarded the residence of Pir Pagaro, but the spirit of sacrifice that instilled in followers by the family made them an iron wall. They neither feared nor change loyalties, thus they could not be bought over.

The British authorities dream to keep away the Hurs from the Pirs did not come true. The English bureaucrat, Sir Evan James, expressed his desire as under:

> The question remains what measures. to be adopted for coercing or persuading the Hurs to a better mode of life in the future, and to obeying the government rather than the Pir. I confess I am in the dark, and not very sanguine as to future of the Hurs.

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro, whom the British colonial administrators once called the King of Kings, spurned a life of luxury that his position entitled him to; instead gratuitously accepted, at first, confinement in prison and, then, the gallows for his native land. To him that was the supreme cause and he refused to back down. Nothing could deter him from his desire to see Sindh as a prosperous and self-governing unit and for his defiance he earned the wrath of the British administrators.

The British made several conciliatory efforts but on each of these occasions, the possibility of compromise shrank. A lesser man than Pir Pagaro might have even succumbed to those offers. Quite unlike other princes, Pirs and feudals. Pir Pagaro did

not accept the artificial respect bestowed upon him by the invading force. As a man who matched word with deed, he challenged the authority of the British.

Brave and courageous Pir faced the hardships but did not accept the tutelage of colonial administration. During his imprisonment, his exchange of views with political detenues, he reached the conclusion that a long struggle and communal harmony was the only way to freedom. He firmly believed unity among the inhabitants of the subcontinent would be a great threat to the British policy of Divide and Rule.

His lion-hearted courage and steadfastness left a great impression upon his followers who, in turn, pledged to carry out his mission-even if it meant instant death for them. With derring-do, his followers struck deep and hard for mother Sindh and their mentor. H. T. lambrick, their hunter, did not hold back praise for them.

> In the course of our long struggle, I came to respect the Hurs, collectively and individually, for their invincible constancy and perseverance. Utterly ruthless and cruel though they were, they were also at all times prepared to lay down their own lives. Whatever else they were, they were genuine - completely devoted to waging this war for their Pir.

In thirties his predecessor Hazrat Ali was the hero of Islam and Alexander was the hero of the Greeks, like that the Pir Pagaro was the hero of freedom movement and his followers.

Jesus Christ, Sufi Shah Inyat preferred the gallows for a noble cause and became immortal in annuls of the history. Similarly, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro also accepted the gallows for a great mission – freedom for his

people and motherland from the yoke of the British imperialists.

I feel that Sayed Sibghatullah Shah's struggle warrants greater scholarly attention to acknowledge his contribution to Sindh and the entire subcontinent during the rule of the British. This biography of Pir Pagaro is a small effort towards that task. In time I hope I will be in a position to release a second book on the saga of the Hurs and their martyred mentor into whose short life was compressed one of the colonial era's staunchest foes.

My thanks are due to former senator Sardar Zulfiquar Ali Shah Jamote, Mr. Ashfaque Memon, Mr. Rochiram Advocate, Mr. Abdul Latif Memon Advocate, Mr. Kashif Ali Nizamani Advocate, Ghazi Salahuddin, Sayed Naved Hussain, Mr. Fida Hussain Shaikh and Professor Qazi Shakil Ahmad.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Robin Fernandez for his help in reading the manuscript.

Khadim Hussain Soomro

Preface

Khadim Hussain Soomro and I first met during our confinement as Government's "Guests" during the first Pakistan Peoples Party regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the Hyderabad Central Prison.

Khadim Soomro has asked me to write a preface for his book on the life and martyrdom of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah *Shaheed.*

Pir Syed Rashid Shah also known as "Rozay-Dhany" was not only a great scholar but also a pious, saintly personality whose teachings and role as a great Sheikh—today known as "Murshid" created a legacy, which lives even today through the successive contribution of his descendants over the past century and a half.

Historical events were a witness to the contribution of PAGAROs and the JAMAIT- known as Hurs in whole of the Sub-continent.

Neither Pir Sahib nor the Jamait should be taken in isolation! They together form an Institution with the PAGARO of the day leading through his personal example with a total commitment to the causes of religious, spiritual and political needs of the Jamait and society. *Rozay-Dhany's* - successor Pir Sibghatullah Shah I, came to the cause of Muslims when he sent his followers in aid of Syed Ahmed Barelvi – against the forces of Raja Ranjit Singh in the early eighteenth century.

The last struggle in the 20th century against British colonizers during the Sub-Continent's freedom movement shows an unparallel example of courage and chivalry by the Jamait and the Pagaro of the day – Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah II.

The fate of the Hurs – their persecution and prosecution are recorded events which show the degree of the harshness meted out to them – but the valour and courage with which they faced this persecution – followed by ultimate example of their "Murshid" Pir Sayed Sibghatullah Shah – who faced martyrdom at the Gallows – is a saga which Khadim Soomro has tried to portray.

The British rulers of the day had already made up their minds to eliminate the Pagaro – and crush the freedom movement then called a "rebellion"

Sayed Zulfiqar Ali Shah Jamote

Family and Lineage

As a cradle of civilization and culture, Sindh has a distinct place in the universe due to its history of peaceable living and its prosperous soil.

Its ambience of wealth and prosperity attracted foreign invasions, most notably from Iran, Afghanistan, Greece, the Arabian Peninsula, and Britain. These powers invaded Sindh from time to time but Sindhis never slept easy until they regained their self-governing status.

A great son of Sindh, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro, whose biography I am writing, and his family elders fought with the British colonialists for cause.

Great civilizations that once thrived in the Nile and Euphrates are regarded as contemporaries of the Indus Civilization. The inhabitants of these ancient civilizations had trade and cultural ties with Sindh through the centuries.

With the dawn of Islam, Hazrat Ali and his descendents enjoyed a close relationship with the people of Sindh. Hazrat Ali, in his capacity as ruler, even appointed Sindhis as cashiers of the treasury.

It is understood that a wife of Hazrat Imam Ali Zainulabedin was of Sindhi origin. Maulana Suleman Nadvi has provided invaluable insight into the relationship between the Arabs and Sindh in his scholarly work *Arab aur Hind ki Talukat.*

Sayeds came to Sindh either for the purpose of preaching or because their differences with Arab Muslim rulers could not be reconciled.

The people of Sindh have respect for Sayeds, as they are descendents of Hazrat Mohammed (PBUH) and Hazrat Ali; Sindhis always warmly welcome them.

Pir Pagaro belonged to the illustrious Sayed family genetically related with Hazrat Ali, a cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Mohammed. Hazrat Imam Moosa Kazim was the seventh successor in line of Hazrat Ali. Since the Pagaro family is the offspring of Imam Moosa Kazim, they are called Kazmi Sayeds. One of their early ancestors Sayed Ali Maki came to Sindh nine centuries ago, when the Soomras ruled Sindh. His grandson Shah Saddar settled in a hamlet called Laki located between Indus River and Kirthar mountain ranges in Dadu District. This village was also a sacred place [Terth] of Hindus. From the time Shah Saddar settled there, his name has also been tagged onto the village, and now it is called Laki Shah Saddar. His descendents are thus called Lakyari Sayeds.

Three kilometers away from Laki village is a natural hot spring located amid mountains. People with skin ailments usually bathe in the hot spring for relief.

Shah Saddar's descendent Sayed Mohammed Baqa Shah was a wise and spiritual person. His son Sayed Mohammed Rashid Shah was born in 1751. Rashid Shah received his early education from his tutor Makhdoom Mohammed Ismail of Peryalo village and then at Madrassa of Khuhra village. He took a degree in religious knowledge.

Rashid Shah started preaching Islam and for this mission he travelled to Mumbai, Kathiawar, Bahawalpur, Jodhpur, Jaislmer and Mekran. Thousands of people became his disciples. He died in 1814.

His son Sayed Sibghatullah I (1764-1827) succeeded him on the throne. Along with spiritual preaching, he organized a militant force.

Emergence of the Hurs

In 1824 Sayed Ahmed Shaheed came to Pir Jo Goth and met with Sayed Sibghatullah Shah. During the sojourn Ahmed Shaheed requested him for help against Raja Ranjit Singh. Pir Sibghatullah Shah signalled his willingness to help and sent his militant followers in hundreds.

On 21 December 1824 they launched an offensive against the militia of Raja Ranjit Singh. The attackers overran Peshawar under the command of Ahmed Shaheed and installed Sultan Mehmmod Khan as the administrator of Peshawar and Moulvi Mazhar Ali as the ombudsman.

The Sindhis fought bravely and Sayed Ahmed called them Hurs. This was a rich praise indeed. Hur was a commander of the Ummayid force during the rule of Yazid; he cordoned off the caravan of Hazrat Imam Hussain, the son of Hazrat Ali and grandson of Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) at Karbala. But before the start of the battle he changed his loyalty to Hazrat Imam Hussain and fought against the forces of Yazid and sacrificed his life along with that of his son and servant.

Shah Latif characterised the role of the Hur in Sur Kedaro. [Melody of Battlefield]:

Dauntless Hur bravely marches forth
1am since long a lover like the moth,
May the Prophet, your grandfather, be pleased?
This venerated head, over you let me sacrifice.

In the second verse Shah Latif narrates how at this crucial time Hur chose to forfeit his powerful position as commander of the force of Yazid in favour of a perilous and uncertain course, which ultimately took his life.

This decision, Shah Latif argues, was pre-ordained and not one of his own making. In fact his soul made the commitment to God before coming to earth.

Hur was given this advice since long,
He left enemy's camp and came along
To Hussain he said, 'May I be over you sacrificed doing all I dare,
God does not test a soul more than it can bear,
He too was wounded and as a martyr died.

Hur is a synonym for a liberated person who fights for a Just cause. G. M. Sayed has narrated the fundamental principles of the Hur movement in his book Struggle for New Sindh as under:

1. Faraq [Secret and separate association]
2. Tarak [Renunciation]
3. Ghaza [Fighting for noble cause]
4. Ittat-e-Ameer [Obedience to leader]

Being a movement like freemasonry, the original history an inner secrets of the Hur movement have remained a guarded secret from the public. But a few facts about these four different principles of the Hurs are now generally known.

1. Faraq ......This is an exclusive group of revolutionaries distinct from the general followers of Pir Pagaro. It is the steel-frame of the movement. The members are organised and kept under severe discipline extending to food, method of living and art of leadership. Secrecy, farsightedness and purity are the main principles of their creed. Their distinction from the common people has kept them apart, and in spite of the

vicissitudes of the times, they have maintained remarkable unity and morale in their ranks.

2. Tarak ...... The followers are expected to sacrifice life, property, their dear ones and their happiness for the honour and benefit of their movement and leader. When Pir Sahib on special occasions gave them an audience, each one of them, man as well as woman, offered whatever valuable he or she had as a tribute to their leader. There are instances when some followers sent from a distant place a horse or a camel as a present. By the time the animal reached Pir Sahib, it would get saddled with many presents on the way, amounting to thousands of rupees.

3. Ghaza ------This movement was originally started in the cause of freedom and progress of Muslims. And aimed at creating warriors to rally round the cause. Each member of the movement was to promise solemnly to his Pir Sahib, the leader of the movement, that for the objects of the movement, he would sacrifice his life and property.

Some of them used to get death prayers performed over them as if they had already died, and their mortal lives were dedicated entirely to the cause of the movement and its leader.

4. Ittaet-e-Ameer ------ Every member of this movement had to maintain complete faith in Pir Pagaro. The great grandfather of the last Pir Pagaro was Pir Mohammed Rashid Shah, who came from the family of Lakyari Sayeds, well-known family of Sayeds in Sindh, from the descendants of Pir Rashid Shah. There sprang two branches; one called Pagaro and the other the Pir of Jhando.

Eventually the militia of Ranjit Singh overpowered Sayed Ahmed Shaheed's outfit in an epic battle in 1828, Singh's men killed Ahmed Shaheed at Balakot. On the orders of their mentor, hundreds of Sindhis sacrificed their lives in this battle.

A year before this tragic event, Pir Sibghatullah Shah had died.

Sayed Ali Gohar Shah I (1812 - 1844), with the consent of his elder brother Sayed Abdul Qadir, became the spiritual leader of the Hurs. Gohar Shah was a wise man and a poet. The appeal of his poetry lay in spiritualism and probing the inner soul. He undertook the construction of mausoleums and finished them as well.

Sayed Ali Gohar Shah I passed away almost a full year after the British conquered Sindh.

The British had a "no-war" pact with Sindh, but a vanquished Sir Charles Napier, who was humbled by the Afghans in an earlier campaign, unexpectedly attacked Sindh in a face-saving gesture.

The people of Sindh fought against the British army at Miani near Hyderabad with General Hosho at the helm.

The defenders were overwhelmed by the sudden attack of the British army and the modem weapons that the invaders possessed. The sober minded circle of the British criticized the action of Charles Napier and at one point even Napier conceded that he had committed a sin.

The Britishers called a meeting to award lands to their protégés. Several chiefs of various tribes attended the meeting and secured lands and other titles and benefits. The Mirs of Khairpur had safeguarded their own estate by declaring their loyalty to the British much earlier.

On different occasions Sayed Hizbullah Shah Pir Pagaro, Sayed Mohammed Shah of Sann, Makhdoom Mohammed Zaman of Hala, Alaf Khan Pathan of Shikarpur and Sardar Imam Bux Khan Jatoi were baited through the promise of similar rewards but they could not

be swayed. The British administration felt affronted by their refusal and victimised them possibly because they were perceived as a threat. Yet all these men stood up to the British and faced victimisation at their hands. The Mirs of Khairpur, as staunch allies of the British, also behaved in the same manner with the Pagaro family.

Sayed Ali Gohar Shah died just four years after the British had invaded Sindh. His son Sayed Hizbullah Shah (1842--1890) was only five years old when he became the third Pir Pagaro.

The First Insurrection

The first period of insurgency launched by the Hurs began in the early 1880s. Reeling from the attacks, the British administration sent emissaries to Sayed Hizbullah Shah to order the surrender of the guerilla leaders and their fighters but Pir refused. To punish him, the British placed many obstacles in his path. Defiant to the last, Pir Hizbullah Shah died on August 1890.

Sayed Ali Gohar Shah II, the fourth Pir Pagaro, was born in 1856. Even when he ascended the throne in 1890, the Hur militia was locked in fierce battle with the British forces. Bacho Badshah and Piro Vizier spearheaded the guerilla warfare at the time. Several British administration officials, including James, the then Commissioner in Sindh, Deputy Commissioner, Tharparkar, William Henry Lucas and Police Inspector Jula Singh employed less than savoury tactics in battle with the insurgents, but they failed to overpower the likes of Bacho Badshah, Piro Vizier and other Hur warriors. Inspector Jula Singh and other policemen were slain by the Hurs in one encounter at the anniversary celebrations of Bahram Beri.

The murder of Jula Singh prompted a British backlash of sorts that was led by a bloodthirsty police Officer. The British administration piled pressure on Pir Ali Gohar for the surrender of Bacho Badshah, Piro Vizier and other Hur militias. They promised general amnesty to anyone who would lie down their weapons and surrender.

On the orders of their spiritual leader, six Hur warriors surrendered to the British. The Hurs were identified as, Piro son of Saleh Fakir Wassan, Khamiso son

of Sachal Fakir Wassan, Gelo son of Doso Fakir Chang, Gulo son of Pario Fakir Mochi, Osman son of Malook Fakir Hingoro, Bhullo son of Gulo Faqir Gaho, and Misri son of Khanan Fakir. The Bacho Badshah and Esso Dahri did not surrender. Eventually they surrendered in 1898 on the orders of Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro.

But rather than grant them amnesty the British put them on the gallows, reneging on their pledge to Pir Ali Gohar. Their treacherous action must have shocked the Pir whose state of health deteriorated soon after. He died in 1896.

Shah Mardan Shah I, the fifth Pir Pagaro was born in 1860. Although he gave a lot of attention to the development of the organisation, the construction of buildings as well as legal matters, he also lent support to the British administration in the First World War. The British government was suspicious of him and posted either a Police Inspector or a sub inspector along with ten police constables with his entourage as he travelled in his land.

Despite his moderate views, the British administration continued to distrust him. He was once forbidden from completing a tour that was undertaken with the purpose of visiting his disciples. He was forced to comply with the order.

During 1913-14, William Henry Lucas, the then Commissioner in Sindh, summoned Sayed Shah Mardan Shah to Karachi for a meeting. In response to the invitation, Shah Mardan Shah visited the city and tried to contact the commissioner at his office several times but the latter made a conscious effort to avoid him. His tactics clearly offended the Pir. Then after a few days, Shah Mardan Shah, under police escort, finally met with the commissioner.

The commissioner abandoned all pretences of a gentleman and in the crudest possible terms asked the Pir to hand over the absconders. Unfazed by his lack of civility, the Pir told him that as an administrator of Sindh, he had the power to arrest the absconders.

Hot words were exchanged. William Henry Lucas and his minions impelled him to sign a promissory note that guaranteed the hand over of his absconding disciples. Shah Mardan Shah weighed the situation carefully and made a decision to sign the document.

He then met with Rais Azam Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, the first Muslim barrister of Sindhi origin, and briefed him about what had transpired at his meeting with the commissioner.

Bhurgri Sahib suggested that he may lodge an appeal in the court against the forced agreement and volunteered to act as the counsel for Pir Pagaro.

Thus Pir Sahib challenged the commissioner's order in the Court. The Court recognised that the promissory note was obtained under duress and ruled in favour of Pir Sahib. Pir Sahib built a big fort where he took up residence. He also managed to separate Pir jo Goth from Khairpur State and henceforth it became a part of Sukkur District.

Pir Shah Mardan is chiefly remembered for opening Madrassas across Sindh. These institutions provided primary education and religious instruction to young Sindhis. Besides that he was very kind and generous. He died on 8 November 1921.

Pir Sibghatullah's Formative Years

Pir Sibghatullah Shah II, the sixth Pir Pagaro, was born on 6 March 1909 at Pir jo Goth. Sindh was in the backwaters of the subcontinents politics when Pir was born. The political leadership of the province had launched a mass campaign for raising political consciousness. At the time, the frontline leaders of Sindh were Ghulam Mohammed Bhurgri and Seth Harchandrai, the co-pioneers of modern politics in Sindh. There were many more such as Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Ghulam Ali Chaghla, Seth Abdullah Haroon, Acharya Kirplani, Jethmal Parsram, Tehalram Khemchand, Jamshed Mehta, Seth Ghulam Hussain Qasim, Mir Ayub Khan, Seth Yousuf Ali Alvi, Dewan Shewaram, Naraindas Becher, Abdul Rehman, Abdul Jabbar, Jairamdas Daultram, Dewan Santdas Mangharam, Dr. Choithram Gidwani, Barrister Mohammed Hafiz and Veromal Begraj.

A year before the birth of Pir Sibghatullah Shah, the first-ever Sindh conference was held in Sukkur, 25 kilometers away from his village Pir Jo Goth. The conference was presided over by Seth Harchandrai.
The conference took up several key issues but the crunch question under discussion was the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.

In 1910, a year after the Pir's birth, elections were held in Sindh under the Minto-Morley reforms. The two great sons of Sindh--Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri and Seth Harchandrai--were elected members of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Keen to groom the teen-age Pir as a liberal person and one who would be loyal to the Crown, the British administration entrusted his academic supervision to Ejaz Ali, a minister in Khairpur State. The minister chose Akhund Rasul Bux of Rohri, the inspector of Government schools, as the tutor and keeper of Pir. From then on the young Pir came under his tutelage.

Pir was only eleven years old at the time of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre. After the Second World War the Indians were expecting reforms from the British, instead, the Rowlatt Act was introduced in the subcontinent under the emergency authority, which they had earlier invoked during the First World War. The whole subcontinent protested against its imposition.

In Amritsar's Jalianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919, people assembled to protest against this dark law. The commander of the British forces General Dyer had ordered his troops to open fire on the demonstrators. Hundreds of people were killed and thousands were injured in indiscriminate firing.

This incident poisoned the atmosphere of the entire subcontinent: there was a visible outpouring of grief and the storm of protests over this holocaust rose to fever pitch. Sindh also actively participated in the protest movement.

Amid horror and shock, the teenaged Pir had witnessed the barbaric bloodletting of the colonialist administration in the company of his family, disciples and political leaders of his ilk. He absorbed all these things in his mind and resolved to stand up against this shameful display of imperialist power.

An Eventful Pirhood
(1922-1943)

At the tender age of 14, he succeeded his father to the throne and became the sixth Pir Pagaro.

After some time he disassociated himself from his tutor. This action left no doubt in the mind of the British that their dream of weaning him away from his radical traditions was doomed. Pir would neither grow up to be a British loyalist nor sympathiser.

Instead he began reorganising the Hur brotherhood, which became less potent after its continued struggle with the British and their allies the Mirs of Khairpur State. The brutalities committed by William Henry Lucas and other British officials were beyond comparison.

Thousands of Hurs were imprisoned or confined in concentration camps along with women and small children. Under the Hur Act imposed by the British administration, soldiers and policemen were free to do what they wished. There was no law and no checks and balances for them.

Through sheer courage, Pir Sibghatullah Shah had instilled fresh spirit into his disciples and renewed their zeal to battle the British colonialists and their procurators.

Though Sindhis are peace loving by nature, they seldom forget any single act of humiliation or injustice. The Hurs were waiting for a leader who would lead them to avenge their humiliation at the hands of the British. At last they felt that they had a leader in the person of Pir

Sibghatullah Shah, who would turn the tables on the British.

European historian Peter Mayne has narrated this entire outgrowth in his book Saints of the Sindh as under:

> The Hurs were watching the boy grow too --- with a passionate, greedy devotion: for here, surely, at last, was the true God!---young as yet, but filled with the most resplendent promise! They brought him their women, their sisters and wives and daughters, they nourished him upon debauchery, they must have stood back to marvel at his appetites and at his stamina, and marveled again at the fits of brutal, bludgeoning violence that would come down upon him sometimes like an ecstasy. It seemed as if he had been born with the dark knowledge of the universe already with him, and they worshipped him when he loved them or when he dishonoured them, when he killed them or commanded them to kill others, for this was the golden age and this the true lord.
>
> Sibghatullah was growing into a large man, black-bearded, handsome, with eyes as calm as planets. He had suffered from small pox in his childhood and the disease had left his skin pitted with the scars of it. But already he had majesty of presence that was commented upon, even by those who claimed to be unafraid. He had an agile mind and, unlike his forebears, he gloried in his godhead. He was God! Let those ridiculous little Englishmen over in Sukkur, those Collectors and District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police, pore over their files and shake their heads! His world was his own to do with as he pleased.

Pir lived with honour and dignity and did not become another eulogist of the administration. This lordly role of the Pir was not acceptable to the British administration and the imperialist regime was afraid of the young Pir.

Once he had seen the framed certificate awarded to his uncle Ali Gohar Shah II Pir Pagaro by the British

administration. He throws it down. The authorities received the news and felt it a sign of rebellion by the Pir.

Seven Years of Incarceration

The British administration had watched the activities of the inflexible and resolute-minded spiritual leader with a keen eye. This was done with the idea of restraining him at the initial stage. In time the British made a game plan to arrest the Pir. The Sukkur administration in general and Sidney Ridley, collector of the area, in particular were the opponents of the Pir. A notorious police officer Ghulam Akbar was deputed to arrest the Pir.

This police officer arrested the Pir in 1930 under the Illegal Arms Act and in a case of wrongful confinement. He was tried in the court of the City Magistrate, Sukkur. The Pir, with the cooperation of Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, engaged Mohammed Ali Jinnah as his defence counsel. The Pir paid Jinnah 500 rupees a day--a handsome amount in those days. Local lawyer Motiram Advani assisted Jinnah. The trial magistrate did not allow frequent consultations between the Pir and his lawyers, citing restricted privileges for any accused under British law. Udharam city magistrate awarded a 10-year sentence in both cases.

Pir Pagaro submitted a criminal appeal (No. 176 of 1930) through his counsel Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the Chief Court of Sindh against the city magistrate's decision.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah s/o Shah Mardan Shah

Versus

The crown

The bench consisting of:

AC. Wild Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner of Sindh
and

R.B Milne Esquire
Judicial Additional Commissioner of Sindh

The appellate bench reduced his sentence to seven years.

Dr. Hamida Khuhro in her book Mohammed Ayub Khuhro narrated the trial as under:

> Mohammed Ayub Khuhro met with the Pir in- October 1930 in prison, and a month or so later on the direction of the Pir he met with George Thomas [the Commissioner-in-Sindh]. He appeared to be quite angry and burst out: "You seem to have sympathy with the Pir but he is a dangerous young man. He is an inhuman tyrant and I will see to it that he is put in for at least ten years.
>
> 1 told the Commissioner that the case was not being tried in a proper manner. The Pir was not allowed to sit in the court and instruct his lawyers on the spot but was kept in Jail where the Lawyers had to go every time they wanted instructions and judges did not adjourn the hearing every time the lawyers wanted to see him. In effect the case was being tried in absentia. I realised that there was no way that 1 could persuade him to be lenient though 1 thought that the threat of ten years was just uttered in anger. I was very surprised therefore when the sentence was as long as he had threatened.

Wisal Mohammed Khan Major General (retired) was an intelligence officer at the time of Hur rebellion of 1942. He wrote five articles on the Hur insurgency in Sindh Quarterly magazine in 1980-81.

In his first article, Wisal Mohammad Khan shared his opinion on the trial of Pir Sibghatullah Shah.

> Government officials in Sindh displayed great regard for the Pir but a few Police officials took an active part in spreading wide propaganda damaging to the reputation of the Pir who was eventually arrested in 1930. On August 28 he was awarded eight years imprisonment for keeping his teenage servant in a box and for being in illegal possession of arms and ammunition in spite of the fact that the witness failed to give evidence in the Court of Law to substantiate these allegations.
>
> The main reason for this state of affairs was that the British Government was bent on the arrest and punishment of the Pir hence every kind of evidence was concocted and fabricated and the witnesses failed to utter lies and corroborate evidence in the presence of the Pir.

The British administration was either afraid of the Pir, or it deliberately wanted to demoralize him. It did not put the Pir in the prisons of his home province, Sindh, where he could easily meet with his family, friends and followers. But the Pir who was just twenty-one years old then was sent to different prisons of India, in Ratnagry, Dacca, Rajshahi and Mednapur.

Through these actions, the British administration made it clear that they wanted the Pir to compromise with them. If he didn't do a deal, he would remain incarcerated or face victimisation by different methods.

In those days, political leaders had discovered a potent, yet peaceful, tool to press for their demands: hunger strikes. The Hurs launched hunger strikes in front of the government offices to pursue the administration for the release of their mentor. The government, however, showed its apathy and did not react to this nonviolent means of protest.

The British administration continued to victimise the Pir even in prison. The Collector, a British officer, visited the prison on February 15, 1932 and accused the Pir of violating the rules.

Taken aback, the Pir asked the collector to explain how he had violated the prison rules, but his tormentor walked away without replying. The Pir then wrote a letter to the collector and officially asked him for a clarification. This letter too went unanswered. In protest, the Pir started a hunger strike and not until the eighth day of the strike did some official call on him. The official visitor was the Sessions judge who enquired about his health and asked him to eat something. The same judge put down the collector's allegation against him as merely a joke. The Pir ended the hunger strike on the assertion of the Sessions Judge.

On 28th February 1933 the following leaders of Sindh in their letter to the Governor of Bombay requested him for release of Pir Pagaro.

1. Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto
2. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro
3. Sardar Nabi Bux Khan Bhutto
4. Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah
5. Haji Mir Mohammed Baloch
6. Khan Bahadur Sher Mohammed Khan Bijarani

Although the forefront leaders of Sindh, as well as the senior parliamentarians of the Bombay Legislative Council, had made a requisition for the release of the Pir but the government ignored their collective plea.

After enduring seven years of incarceration, the Pir was released from Mednapur prison on Nov. 25, 1936.

After release Pir Pagaro visited the cities of Calcutta and Delhi for 4 to 6 days.

He boarded a specially chartered train from Calcutta via Samma Sahita [Samma and Sahita are two Rajput castes of Sindh, each of which built this town; at present, this town is called Sama Sata] and arrived at Rohri station. A large group of people was waiting to greet him there. Among them were landlords, spiritual leaders, Sayeds, businessmen, lawyers, workers, peasants and his followers.

The Governor of Sindh Sir Lancelot Graham sent the Pir a courtesy message and offered him a chance to revive the strained relations between him and the British administration.

Man of Purpose

The Pir's meetings with nationalist-minded political workers during his detention between 1930 and 1936 veered him towards the nationalist struggle. As an experienced and mature young politician and a man of vision, the Pir proved to be alert to the present and future politics of the subcontinent and the world. The hardships and sufferings that he had witnessed in various prisons gave him a kind of clarity of vision that saw through the British imperialists.

He studied the political scenario of the subcontinent, read the minds of the British, and understood the aims and objectives of Muslim nationalists, the Congress and the Muslim League.

The British plan to break the will of the Pir through constant victimisation was doomed. This test of hardships only hardened the Pir's convictions and his sense of purpose. He made up his mind that until and unless he ousted the British colonialists from his motherland Sindh, he would not rest.

Indeed, prison had changed the lifestyle of the Pir. He abandoned all luxuries, and now wore the Khaddar. His followers were advised also to follow his lifestyle and to wear the hand-woven cloth made locally. The Pir also arranged a *Charka* for himself.

Within days of his release under the 1935 Act, Sindh regained a semblance of its autonomous status. Fresh elections were held in 1936. The Pir did not show any interest in the elections, because he already knew that these

assemblies would work under the orders of the British administration. If any premier or minister dared to revolt against the administration, the Governor would dismiss him. His fears were realised in October 1942, when Allah Bux Soomro was dismissed as premier. This action, along with many others, illustrated how the English administration had permitted a few civil and political liberties; but attached certain conditions to those freedoms. The invitation by Sir Lancelot Graham, the Governor of Sindh, to Sir Ghulam Hussain to form the cabinet with a wafer-thin majority of three votes in the House of sixty was unusually undemocratic. The governor ignored the Sindh United Party-a grouping with a combined strength of 21 members.

Not only did the governor violate democratic norms and values at the introduction of a so-called democratic dispensation in the province, but also he unwittingly introduced a practice, which continued till the partition of the subcontinent.

Although Pir Pagaro did not participate in the elections, his role in the parliamentary politics of Sindh was significant. He had a following in most of the province's constituencies and many candidates sought his help. Successive cabinets of Sindh turned to him for assistance. During election time the Pir went to Mecca for pilgrimage. It is understood that he opened communication links with Mufti Azam of Palestine, Rashid Ali a revolutionary leader of Iraq, and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. He discussed with each of these men the prevailing political scenario of the subcontinent, the Middle East and the policies of the British. Khan of Kalat Nawab Assadullah Khan also met with the Pir at Mecca. The Pir went to Madina and paid tributes to Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), his illustrious ancestor.

After the pilgrimage, the Pir returned to Sindh and within a short while he embarked on a tour of his followers' homes. He ordered them to refrain from tobacco. He held discourses about rural welfare, and appealed to Sindhis to upgrade their educational institutions in the province and to educate their children. He also called upon Sindhis to lead simpler lives and abandon their indulgences. But most importantly he counseled them to show solidarity with one another and suggested that they should resolve their disputes through mediation. He didn't want them to engage in bickering or file complaints against each other in police stations.

A shrewd man, the Pir quietly watched the political shenanigans unfold in the province. In his mind, he had decided to take advantage of the weak provincial government of Sir Ghulam Hussain.

The Pir recognised the fact that his followers faced persecution on two counts.

1. **The concentration camps:** The Hurs were sent to Bombay Presidency and different other concentration camps following the rebellion of 1893 and the 1915 uprising.

2. **Criminal Tribes Act:** The police and other administration officials had powers to arrest any respectable person or follower of the Pir under the Criminal Tribes Act. The victim had only two options. He could bribe the police or other official for his relief or go to prison.

The government also used this law for political purposes. Home Minister Mir Ghulam Ali, under the instructions of the premier of the province Sir Ghulam

Hussain, issued the order to arrest G.M. Sayed, the President of the Muslim League (Sindh chapter) and the most powerful parliamentarian, under the Hur Tribes Act. The order was issued during the Hur rebellion of Sibghatullah Shah.

The real issue was that G.M. Sayed had differences with Sir Ghulam Hussain and the latter feared that the former's group would rally a no-trust motion against him in the parliament. For the safety of his ministry, Sir Ghulam Hussain managed to get the arrest order passed against Sayed with the cooperation of the local bureaucracy. The move, however, did not meet with the approval of the British bureaucrats.

This is a small example of how the administration abused its powers.

At an opportune time, the Pir asked the premier for the release of the Hurs and the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act. Sir Ghulam Hussain gave in to the Pir's demand and sprang the Hurs out from the settlements of Bombay Presidency and withdrew the Criminal Tribes Act.

The Pir had earned a moral victory and his disciples were infused with a fresh spirit. This had a direct bearing on the Pir who systematically began to give shape to his plans.

For popularising his goals and mission, the Pir launched a newspaper in Sindhi under the name of Pir-jo-Goth Gazette. A retired teacher Kachhomal was its editor, while the majority of its staff was Congressites. The newspaper was an instant hit with the Pir's followers. Like his father, Shah Mardan Shah II, the VII Pir Pagaro, is also running a Sindhi-Language newspaper called Mehran.

The year 1939 will be remembered as one of the saddest in the modern history of Sindh. It was in this year that Sindhis, who pride themselves on being peace devotees and preachers of human harmony, fought one another on the basis of communalism.

Near Sukkur, there are some building structures, which Muslim religious groups claim is the rampart of an old mosque. These groups requested the Government of Sindh to restore the original building structures.

Masjid Manzilgah: Premier Allah Bux Soomro wanted to solve the problem through consensus after the Sindhi Hindu community openly expressed reservations about the restoration project. He requested all the groups to adopt a rational approach to the problem because the matter was ultra-sensitive. He bargained for more time in order to allow the opposing parties to reach a reasonable solution. With an aim to weaken the A. B. Soomro's government and defame him, the Muslim League (Sindh chapter) politicised the issue. This political game played by the Sindh Muslim League leadership appeared to be quite simple and innocuous but it had dangerous repercussions. Several persons were killed and hundreds were injured in the ensuing conflict. In addition, properties worth millions were destroyed. But the most terrible impact was the splintering of the Sindhi nation's unity on communal basis. The role of Pir Pagaro in the Masjid Manzilgah riots was marvelous. He pursued the mystic philosophy of Sindh. As a custodian of the saintly family, and a leading humanist, he viewed the matter above personal creed. He did not support the League in this orgy of communal intolerance instead he took measures to suppress the flames of sectarian hatred.

In his newspaper, Pir-jo-Goth Gazette, the Pir made an impassioned plea for Hindu-Muslim unity:

> My forefathers," he wrote, "treated Hindus and Muslims alike as a sacred trust. The same is my principle... Allah is the same as Parmatma, though with different names. I will be happy when I see temples and mosques together with only a wall dividing them and everyone [worshipping] according to their rights so that no one may have a grievance against the other.

Several fundamentalist and vested interest groups expressed anger at the Pir over his non-communal attitude. Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi found his hopes dashed when Allah Bux Soomro did not accommodate him in the Sindh Government. In retaliation, he hatched a plot against Soomro's ministry on religious basis, and became the champion of the Masjid Manzilgah cause. He was uncomfortable with the non-communal role of Pir Pagaro. The second big gun of Sukkur district was the Pir of Bharchondi. He showed his enthusiasm over the Pir's return to Sindh from Mednapur prison. But when the Pir did not back the communalists, he found himself estranged from him. His religious beliefs made him reject outright the Pir's outlook.

For the sake of inter-religious harmony, the Pir used to invite the Congress leaders at Pir jo Goth. There he hosted combined gatherings of Hindus and Muslims. Along with Congress leaders, the Pir stressed the importance of inter-religious harmony and unity against the British.

The collector of Sukkur, Kotawala, a man of Gujrati origin, sent a gun and sword to Pir Sibghatullah Shah probably as a reward for his non-communal outlook in the Masjid Manzilgah riots or as a means to improve relations with the Pir. But the Pir refused to accept any award from

the British administration. A message was conveyed to the collector:

> Pir Pagaro's title is good enough for our family. The weapons are already with us.

The deadly conflagration of the Second World War started in 1939. Hitler was just a corporal in the German army during the First World War. He had fought against the Allied forces and personally witnessed the defeat of Germany at the hands of the Allies. After the war, the Allied forces imposed the Treaty of Versailles. Under the treaty, the Germans were penalised with a series of restrictions. These sanctions gave rise to a new political outfit under the leadership of Hitler. This outfit came in power in 1933.

Hitler was born near the Austrian-German border. He claimed that Austria was a part of Germany because of their shared ethnicity. The German invasion of Austria did not evoke a serious response from the Allied forces. Hitler also made a treaty with Russia and attacked Poland.

The Russians, immortalised in a line of verse by one of their poets as those who "cannot be measured through Intelligence", also attacked Poland and seized half of it, the other half was controlled by Germany. Poland was turned into a buffer zone. Yet the Allied forces did not react. But when Hitler attacked France, the Allies awoke from their slumber.

Pir Pagaro felt that the war would make the British weak and he perceived it as a golden time to liberate Sindh. He called Bengali fighters to train the Hurs in modem guerilla warfare. The Pir spent most of his time in the forest

'*Keti Pir Pagaro*' a piece of forest that was in the possession of Pir Pagaro, to supervise the activities.

The administration that conspired against him in the 1930 case was very much afraid. Officials routinely sent reports to the Governor about him. Wary of their activities, the Pir remained ever vigilant. He made generous contributions to the British War Fund and satisfied Lancelot Graham in his meetings with the governor and charmed him with his diplomatic flair and impeccable behaviour.

Governor Graham called upon Pir Sibghatullah in July 1940 and held a long discussion with him on the reports of the officials. The governor was satisfied with the impressive talk of the Pir. Following is a report by Governor Graham to the viceroy on his meeting with Pir Pagaro.

Government House Karachi
25th July 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I had at least three long conversations with the Pir Pagaro and I am not satisfied that the police information against him is correct.

I am not flattering myself that he has turned over an entirely new leaf since I took an interest in him, but I think there is good ground for believing that he realises that it will pay him to cooperate with government. He enjoyed a hearty laugh with me at one of the allegations against him, which was to the effect .that he was saying that I had promised him that he should succeed as governor of the province. He had promised his cooperation in the search for murderers of the Pamnani and as the last news of them was that they were heading towards... Khairpur State in which Pir has a considerable amount of land, it is possible that he may have a chance of helping us.

Yours sincerely
L. Graham

Meanwhile G.M. Sayed met with Pir and invited him to join the Muslim League but he refused and told him that his mission was 'liberty or death'. His conversation with G.M. Sayed showed that he had decided to wage a war for freedom against the British.

Colonel Philip was the chief of intelligence in Sindh. In a letter that he had written to a friend in Sindh on the Hur movement, Col. Philip recounted how well informed the British administration was about the meetings and communications of the Pir with the politicians of Sindh and that of the subcontinent. He further narrated that Pir Pagaro and G.M. Sayed had held a few meetings but these were not altogether harmful.

Government officials continuously sent reports to the governor about the Pir's activities and informed him of an imminent insurgency that they expected the Pir to lead. Suspicions grew and the governor summoned the Pir for an interview. Sir Ghulam Hussain was dropped as an interpreter, because the governor had some reservations about Hussain's relationship with the Pir. He asked Mohammed Ayub Khuhro to step in as interpreter.

In January 1941 the Pir met with Governor Lancelot Graham and handed him a princely sum of 10,000 as a donation for Britain's war campaign. His artful way of talking and moderate attitude quelled whatever fears the governor had about him. The governor came away with the thought that the Pir was harmless to the British crown.

Some time later, the ministry of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, along with his coalition partners in the Muslim League, was toppled. Allah Bux Soomro, with the

cooperation of the Congress and support of Pir Pagaro. became the Premier of Sindh for the second time.

In the days that followed Pir Pagaro visited Sanghar. Sain Rakhio Behan narrated his activities as well as critical events of the time.

> The Id day fell a week after Pir Sahib's arrival. There were larger number of disciples assembled than I had ever seen before, from Lar, from round about Hala, all the Jamrao and Nara country, and the desert. Never shall I forget the moment when our Lord suddenly appeared on the upper terrace of his house, in all the splendour of his ceremonial robes, which caught the morning sun light, so that he shone like an angel newly descended from heaven.
>
> There was silence and then a sigh like the wind in a field of ripe corn, as we fell on our faces before him. Pir Sahib preached the beauty of brotherly love, and exhorted all his followers to preserve a firm union among themselves, and above all, never to disclose any secret belonging to our union to outsiders, but on the contrary, they were to sever existing connections with them. Pir Sahib praised Congressmen for their discipline and brotherly union, and said that it was wrong to despise them as Hindus, for many of their precepts, such as not wasting money on ornaments, and not slaughtering cows, were really good for Muslims also, and he intended to issue edicts to all his disciples in this behalf. He alluded to the war between Germany and the English, and said that the Germans had destroyed several nations very quickly and it was necessary to be prepared for great changes in the world. For this reason more than ever, he was concerned for union among his followers, and was making new arrangements for their protection in times of stress, by giving authority to well tried men among them. Pir Sahib also urged those of his disciples who could read, to purchase the Gazette newspaper issued at his village, in which they would find written his thoughts from time to time, and other matters concerning the Congregations.
>
> Special meetings for Ghazis and important *Fakirs* were called at night, at one, which my father and I were among those admitted to the high walled compound in front of the

> house. Pir Sahib sat on the veranda with gas lamps burning on either side, and we on the ground below. He told us that the principal city of England, called London, where most of the English live was now under a rain of bombs from German aircraft, and there was very little doubt that the English would soon sue for peace. This news he had from the Germans themselves, speaking in the Urdu language through the Radio machine which he had set up in his Estate; and to remove any doubts that we might have, he had brought the machine with him in the motor, and we should hear ourselves. Pir Sahib then began himself to adjust the machine, and after rejecting some voices that came from other places he caught hold of the right one and told us to listen. In those days I knew no more Urdu than is useful in the business of cattle lifting, but my father, who had spent so many years in Settlements in the Deccan along with certain classes of operators from Hindustan, understood perfectly. He and others grew excited as they listened, and my father told me, as soon as there was an opportunity, that this German was saying that in few days their soldiers would take London, which was already in flames, and destroy the English completely, whereafter India and other countries wrongfully possessed by them would be free; and people everywhere should therefore be prepared. Pir Sahib added that he had little doubt that when the moment arrived, the Governor of Sindh, who properly appreciated his position, and felt a strong friendship for him, would deliver over his authority to himself; but for the present, it was necessary for us to remain ready, and not to do anything until we were given the order.

A little later, while the Governor of Sindh Sir Lancelot Graham was changed. Hugh Dow, a sharp-headed man who gained notoriety for his administrative misconduct, was named as Graham's replacement. Already Dow had worked as a young officer in Sindh with another infamous official William Henry Lucas, a police officer known for his - brutality. Lucas had committed grave excesses in suppressing the insurgency of Bacho Badshah and Piro Vizier. Like his predecessor, Dow keenly followed the dossier that the officials ran on the Pir and took notice of all his activities.

The collector of Sukkur was an avid reporter of the Pir's activities. His shenanigans angered the Hurs who requested the Pir to dispose of Sidney Ridley. But the Pir turned down the request and reasoned with them:

> In the conduct of great affairs there is a right and a wrong time for particular actions.

Meanwhile the Pir came down to Karachi and attended a meeting with the new governor in the second week of June 1941. Following are comments by the governor about the Pir, which were conveyed to the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
12th June 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

You will be now have had my letters of 6th June dealing with the Pir Pagaro's activities. He is down here on a visit, actually staying with my Home Minister, who brought him to see me two days ago: he wore a long blue velvet coat encrusted with as much gold and jewels as your whole chamber of princes might wear on a gala night. He struck me as an extremely shrewd man, very quick in seizing and even anticipating the points I made, and I can't for a moment accept Sir Ghulam Hussain's contentions that he is a simple-minded person who is the innocent centre of other people's intrigues.

The latest crime which is said to have instigated is the murder and dismemberment of a woman, whose disjecta membra have been found and recognised; the Pir swears she is still alive, and that he can produce her, and I have sent him away to do so.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Hugh Dow anticipated stiff resistance from the Pir and he already made up his mind about restraining the man. During July 1941 he forced the Pir to live in Karachi under

a fresh order. The Pir did not protest when the banishment notice was served. He agreed to stay in the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bakhsh on Bunder Road, Karachi.

Yet within a couple of weeks the Pir asked the then Home Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain for permission to travel to his hometown for a few days. The home minister pursued the matter with the governor who was uncomfortable with the idea.

In his letter to the viceroy, the governor voiced his fears.

> Government House Karachi
> 8 August 1941
>
> Dear Lord Linlithgow,
>
> There have been no further developments in the Pir Pagaro case. Sir Ghulam assured that he would guarantee that Pir would come to Karachi to live the due date, but from the district officers come reports that the Pir is doing nothing to produce his followers who are wanted or absconding. I returned to tell Sir Ghulam Hussain that 1 should consider the Pir a greater nuisance in Jail in Sindh than he would be even at liberty, and that there would therefore be no halfway house between his good behaviour in liberty and his arrest and deportation outside the province: this will probably be passed on to the Pir and may have some effect. Such action would, I think, have to be taken under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, and would have to be taken by the Government of India: I should be grateful to have it this view confirmed by your Home Department.
>
> Yours sincerely
> H. Dow

The Pir was clearly offended by the governor's reluctance to entertain his travel request. So, in October, he left Karachi in a huff. He headed straight to Ganang bungalow at Sinjhoro and prepared himself for the consequences of his action. He knew that he would be booked on the charge of treason for defying the travel ban.

He met the commanders of his forces and gave them a set of instructions. He told his trusted commanders that he would probably be arrested.

The Pir left Ganang bungalow for Pir jo Goth, his hometown. Once there, he issued instructions to his band of loyal supporters. He also made a trip to the forest to establish contact with the Hur guerillas. Upon meeting them, the Pir spelled out the Hur strategy for the future.

Second Confinement and Hur Reprisals

The Pir's defiance of the travel ban put the British administration in a hypertizzy. The governor ordered his immediate arrest and demanded he be confined in Karachi. Sidney Ridley, the collector of Sukkur, and J. J Ray, the police superintendent, went to Pir jo Goth but they could not track him down. A manhunt was launched and the British moved their vehicles into the forest.

The British forces and the Pir confronted each other three kilometres away from Pir jo Goth. British officers used a ploy to nab him. They did not tell the Pir about his arrest, and only asked him to accompany them to Karachi.

They had a stopover in Khairpur where they lunched with Ejaz Ali, Vizier of Khairpur State; from there they proceeded to Karachi. The Pir was confined in the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bux Talpur.

The Hurs were livid with rage over their lord's detention. Imam Bux and some young Ghazi leaders insisted that fighters be dispatched to Karachi to spring free their lord. They did not want to lose any more time.

They vowed to rescue him and take him to safety before the government could take any further steps against him.

But Nuro, a Ghazi, reminded them that the Pir had forbidden them from doing anything until he personally gave out his instructions.

The government officially arrested the Pir on 24th October1941 [under Regulation XXV of 1827]. The colonial administration was well aware of the Pir's popularity and status among his disciples and followers. The administration made swift arrangements to send the Pir out of Karachi. By Lahore Mail the Pir was first taken to Lahore, and then to Nagpur by the Central Indian Railways. The Pir was taken to Seoni jail in Nagpur.

The following Hur fighters were present in the house of Pir Pagaro when he was arrested on 24 October 1941.

1. Mohammed Kasim s/o Habib Behan village Mulla Wahan, Taluka Moro District Nawabshah.
2. Ismail s/o Mitho Hajam, Sinjhoro District Sanghar.
3. Ramzan s/o Gullo Hingoro r/o Sinjhoro.
4. Lal Bux s/o Shadi Khaskeli, Deh 36 Sinjhoro, District Nawabshah.
5. Mohib s/o Pir Bux Wassan, Dim Taluka Sinjhoro District Nawabshah.
6. Mohbat s/o Gul Behan, Dim Taluka Sinjhoro District Nawabshah.
7. Haji s/o Allahdino Mirbahar Noraga. District Sukkur.
8. Khamiso s/o Kasim Wassan, residing near Sanghar District Tharparkar.

The governor and other officials of the British administration were almost complacent following the Pir's arrest. The British administration, as a whole, expected very light resistance, of the kind seen at the time of the Pir's arrest in 1930. Officials were confident that they could put down any anti-state campaign that the Pir's followers may have contemplated. They miscalculated the intensity of the reprisal movement. The situation was quite different from

the last time when the British moved against the Pir and his men.

By then the Pir had become a visionary and he was well acquainted with the duplicity of both the British and the world. He had already warned his followers that harsh days lay ahead of them. The followers were prepared to face the music. With his divine charm, the Pir had inspired them to scale the heights of sacrifice. To them the respect and honour of their mentor was more than anything else was in the world. Peter Mayne in his book 'Saints of Sindh narrated the love, the disciples feel for their lord as under:

He engaged counsel to defend him, the best counsel in the land --- Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who twenty-seven years later was to bring into being the new sovereign state of Pakistan. No sooner had Mr. Jinnah arrived in Sindh and been shown into his young client's presence than he protested with formal vehemence against the manner of his reception. Mr. Jinnah was not prepared to be met at the station by a dilapidated old motorcar when the Pir's garages were filled with fine cars. The Pir explained, of course, he had fine cars in his garages: but did not Mr. Jinnah realise that the Hurs would have killed him instantly, had they seen him in a car that their Pir was accustomed to ride in? One must imagine that the two men watched each other in a wary silence: the one lean, ascetic looking, already conscious of his great destiny: the other a young man filled with unnatural powers that he was only now beginning to comprehend.

He also compared the love of Aga Khan and Pir Pagaro's followers as under:

> His arrogance and his envy were boundless. He seems to have been particularly envious of His Highness the Aga Khan, for the Aga Khan too derived his powers through a mystic

> chain of authority back into the dawn of Islam: but the Aga Khan occupied a position of his honour and respect throughout the world and was weighed against gold, whereas Pir Pagaro ... He thumped his chest and trumpeted his ridiculous challenge, a muscleman at a country fairground: "I will produce for you ten Hurs who for my sake will confess to a murder they have not done and will gladly hang for it! Can the Aga Khan produce one such even?" Yet it was true: the Aga Khan could not, and Pagaro manifestly could.
>
> You would probably have to go back to the eleventh century to find a parallel to Pagaro's dominion over his people-back to the Old Man of the Mountains and his Assassins and the fortress of Alamout, high in the mountains south of the Caspian Sea. It is said that the Old Man of the Mountains, whose name was Hassan ben Sabbah, had such power over his followers that at a nod from him anyone of them would readily throw himself from the ramparts of the Alamout into the abyss below; and it is believed that the main spring of this power lay in the ritual of the initiation ceremony through which each novice had to pass before being accepted into the body of those who sacrifice themselves'-as ben Sabbah called his men.

It appears that Peter Mayne missed the prime difference between the Aga Khan and Pir Pagaro. The Aga Khan was born in Sindh but he supported the British invaders against local rulers. In contrast, Pir Sibghatullah Shah gave his life for the freedom of his motherland.

The wise men of Sindh disagreed with the action of the Governor and they had predicted trouble ahead. The matter was not so simple as the British administration thought it would be. They felt that the conflict between the Pir and the government threatened to cloud the peaceful aura of the province. They had sent telegrams to the governor to reconsider his position and release the Pir. A delegation of Sindh Congress leaders led by R.K. Sidhwa wanted to meet with the governor. But the governor kept them at bay.

After a few days Mohbat Fakir returned to Ganang bungalow and conveyed the bad news to the Hurs. They were very furious and their commanders decided to wage an armed struggle to release the Pir. They drew up plans to attack government property and police stations, in the hope of pressuring the administration to free the Pir.

The Governor of Sindh wrote a report to the viceroy on the arrest of the Pir and the retaliatory measures of the Hurs.

Government House Karachi
25 October 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The really important event of the last week has been the arrest of the Pir Pagaro under regulation XXV of 1827, and his deportation to a Jail in the Central Provinces under section 5 of Act 111 of 1858.

In my letter of 15th instant I narrated the circumstances under which the Pir left Karachi without permission and was induced to return. Further details of this are now available. Ridley District Magistrate of Sukkur, on his way to interview the Pir at Pir-Jo-Goth his accordance with instructions, met the Pir some miles out that town on his way to take up his residence in his Jungle fastness in the Khairpur State nearby. The Pir was in a car with one servant and a small armory of three guns and a revolver, and Ridley must have exercised considerable tact persuading him to return forthwith to Karachi. There he was served with an order under the D. of 1. Act, and in the absence of other arrangements took up his abode with Ghulam Hussain. Sir Ghulam Hussain since informed me that he was very incensed with the way the Pir had lied to him and deceived him, and he made it clear that the Pir must make other arrangements as soon as possible: The Pir left him next morning, and went to reside in a house belonging to one of the Talpur ruler.

On Sunday last the 19th October, Ridley telephoned that the Pir's cousin, Fateh Ali Shah, and one of his servants and a

policeman had been murdered by the Pir's followers in Sukkur. Fateh Ali Shah had been under police protection for some time, and on the Pir's return to Karachi, the district magistrate, foreseeing some attempt on the Pir's relatives (with whom Pir to at enmity) by way of retaliation, had placed at Fateh Ali Shah's house a regular guard of two armored constables. In spite of this, at 10 a.m. on 19th, sudden attack was made on Fateh Ali Shah and his guard in the porch of his house by three Hurs armed with heavy hatchets. Fateh Ali Shah himself, one of the constables and a servant were struck down and killed. The musket of the other constable was rendered useless by an axe blow, which split the wood enclosing the barrel. One of the assailants was pursued and captured, another has been identified and it is hoped will be rounded up, and third escaped unidentified. There could be no reasonable doubt that the Pir made use of his last visit to Sukkur to give orders for this outrage, though it must be doubtful whether it was to take place in any event, or only if action was taken to restrict the Pir's movements. It is now established to my satisfaction that the Pir either cannot or will not restrain the fanaticism and violence of his followers. And it is almost certain that he is the direct and deliberate instigator of these most serious crimes.

I at once got into telephonic communication with Twynam and on his arguing to accept the Pir, have issued orders under Regulation XXV of 1827 for his arrest, and have sent him for custody to Seoni in the C.P. under section 5 of Act 111 of 1858. I am glad to be able to report that I was able to secure the consent of Sir Ghulam Hussain to this action being taken, so that I have not been forced to take action under my special responsibility, though I made it clear that I should have no hesitation in exercising that if it were necessary. The Premier was still absent in Bombay. The arrest was affected without difficulty last evening: The Pir was taken by car to a way side station and put on the Lahore Mail, and is now on his way to Seoni via Lahore and Delhi under police guard.

It is possible there may be few more sporadic outrages, and the district magistrates of the districts where these are likely to occur have been warned.

A word or two may be said on the political aspect of these events ---- Since the murder of the Wahabi Moulvies last year

by the Pir's followers the Muslim League faction in Sindh has been generally hostile to the Pir, who in turn has been playing up to the Congress party. Sidhwa went so far as to try and lead a deputation to me last week to urge the Pir's ukase from the restriction imposed under the D. of 1. Rules. I refused to see him; the action now taken is likely therefore to be generally supported in Muslim League circles. Sir Ghulam Hussain has tried to persuade me that the Hindus generally, not only the Congress faction, are favourable to Pir, but I do not believe this. The large number of telegrams, which I have received for begging his release, is either from people who are his *Murids*, or are themselves afraid that the Pir might be released and hoped in that event to be able to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In reply Lord Linlithgow wrote a letter to Hugh Dow and showed his satisfaction at the action of the governor.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
3rd November 1941

Dear Hugh Dow
I am so glad that reactions to the removal of the Pir Pagaro should be so satisfactory.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

The forces of Pir Pagaro mounted a series of calculated attacks. They damaged the telegraph poles and wires in an effort to destroy the communications system. This served as a preliminary warning to the British administration whose officials were in a confused state due to the Second World War. Yet they did not heed the counsel of those who wanted peace in Sindh and instead they paid attention to the remarks of the enemies of the Pir or their agents.

Following is a report by the Governor of Sindh to the viceroy on the situation.

Government House Karachi
24th November 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,
Law and order (Para) of the political report.

It becomes increasingly clear that the removal of the Pir Pagaro has been received by all classes with a feeling of relief, which is only tempered by the fear that he may some day be allowed to come back. It is practically certain that the recent sabotage of telegraph poles and wires is the work of his followers, and was probably arranged by the Pir himself as part of the demonstrations, which were to follow on his arrest. Most newspapers are stilt afraid to make any but the most guarded references to the subject.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In his letter to Dow, Lord Linlithgow casts a very superficial look at the future troubles of the Sindh administration. His disappointment over the misreading of the Hur brotherhood's reaction is evident.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
25th November 1941

Dear Hugh Dow

As you say the most important business in the period under view has been the arrest of the Pir Pagaro. I am most grateful for the full information you have given me on this delicate and difficult subject in the recent correspondence, I am very glad indeed this thing should have gone off as well as they have and that there should not have been greater difficulty.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Hurs' reaction had compelled the governor to look after the matter personally because he knew that the Ministry was not satisfied with his action. He personally visited Tharparkar district and met with the Zamindars and

persuaded them to help him but their response was very poor. Following is a report by Governor Hugh Dow to the Viceroy on his tour.

Government House Karachi
12 December 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The only paragraph of the official report, which I shall comment on, is that dealing with law and order and the Pir Pagaro's activities. Between Nawabshah and Mirpur Khas and Umerkot I have been touring on the confines of the Hurs country: I have had heart to heart talks with a dozen of leading Zamindars. Including nearly all the local MLA's I have addressed District Local Bodies and War committees, and at informal parties have talked with many representative groups of Zamindars belonging to all parties. It is a country in which I served as a junior officer, and through which I ranged again in my middle years; so that the older and middle aged mine old friends, and the youngest men either knew me when they were children, or I could at least chat with them about their parents. I have therefore an exceptional opportunity of learning their real statements.

Any lingering doubts that I may have had about the wisdom of removing the Pir Pagaro from Sindh have been entirely dispelled. It is perfectly clear that he had established a reign of terror over the whole countryside, and that only thing deters even most of his own *"Murid"* and *"Khalifas"* from openly denouncing is the fear that he may come back. It was rather pathetic to see the way in which one and all of the Zamindars to whom I gave interviews, dropped their voices when I introduced this subject, and looked hastily round to see whether anyone could possibly be within earshot. They would then proceed to unburden their souls as to the *"Zulum"* to which they had been subject by the Pir.

My ministry themselves are still half-frightened of the man, and it is interesting to reflect that while in other matters they are apt to resent any exercise of my own powers as unconstitutional, they are perfectly willing to have it believed that the incarceration of the Pir was due to the exercise of my special responsibility. They are, for example, most unwilling

to go to the Legislative Assembly for a supplementary grant to meet the C.P. Governments bill from special police to guard the Pir, whether ministerial influence of editorial pusillanimity is responsible for the silence of the press I cannot say. I went rather out of my way to refer to the matter in addressing the Nawabshah D.L.B., and referred to the Pir as Sindh's "leading and most unprincipled gangster", and to my government's determination to put down mediaeval methods of rapine and violence. This was given the honour of leader type in the newspapers, but the accompaniment is still on the soft pedal.

There is now no doubt that the series of wire cutting and railway track offences, which followed the Pir's arrest, was mainly a demonstration pre-arranged by the Pir. I do not expect them to continue. But sporadic outrages against those whom the Pir dislikes are likely to continue till some dozen or so of his desperados have been rounded up, and the District Magistrates are devoting their attention to this very difficult task.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Hurs had removed the rail track; in consequence, a goods train was derailed. Following is a report from C. B.B. Clee to Conran Smith.

Home Department, Sindh
18th December 1941

Dear Conran Smith,

There have been further outrages consequent on the removal of the Pir Pagaro from Sindh. On the 29th November some rails were removed from the line near Madeji station in the Sukkur District near the village of the Pir. In consequence, a goods train was derailed and two wagons loaded with firewood caught fire. It is suspected that the rails must have taken up by followers of the Pir who are railway employees and enquiry is being made with a view to checking up on the number of his 'Murids' who are employed on the railway.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

The Sindh government was not happy with the actions of the governor--who was increasingly seen as a civil martial law administrator, for his lust for power knew no bounds. Under special powers, he undermined the status of the parliament. The premier of Sindh Allah Bux Soomro and several parliamentarians openly disagreed with him. In a statement of 19 December 1941 Allah Bux Soomro had expressed his resentment.

Special Power for Governor:

19 December: An important statement concerning the constitutional implications of the exercise of special powers by the governor in the day-to-day administration of the government was made by the premier, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux that day.

After recalling the controversy that preceded the acceptance of ministry by the Congress and the viceroy's assurance with the full approval of the British government in regard to the exercise of individual judgement by Governor, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux disclosed that before the arrival of the present governor and when he last assumed the reins of office as Premier, the attitude of the former governor in regard to the exercise of the special powers was that, as far as possible, he did not desire whatsoever to interfere with the administration of the province. But the present governor interpreted the exercise of these powers in a different way.

"He feels that in all matters where under the Act he has to exercise individual judgement and in all matters wherein he has special responsibility he must exercise his own judgement, as also in all matters where he may hold an opinion different from that of ministers whether the matter be so important and the ministers advice so perverse that his being guided by the ministers advice would be inconsistent with the exercise of his special responsibility. or whether it is a mere matter .of difference of opinion regarding certain day-to-day administration. His Excellency does not seem to appreciate that even in matters wherein His Excellency has special

responsibility, the primary responsibility is that of the Ministers.

"The Premier added that the Governor had even gone so far as to say that in the provinces where the Governors abstained from the exercising those powers, it had been done not in accordance either with the instructions or the policy of the British Government as such. If the present policy of the Governor was approved by the Viceroy and the British Cabinet, then it raised a constitutional issue. The House would agree with him that so far as the Ministers were concerned, they were responsible to the Legislature and they owed no responsibility to anyone else and so far as the Governor was concerned, his position was that he owed responsibility to the Secretary of State.

The Premier declared that in view of the stand taken by the Governor; there could be no question of give and take. "If the attitude which the present Governor has taken, namely, that irrespective of the issue, whether major or minor, he must exercise his individual judgement, then I think there will be a regular list to be prepared of all instances wherein interests would clash." The Premier added: "It means that it is a question of measuring strength between the Governor representing the British Government on one side and the people on the other. It will be impossible to assume for a moment that in the Congress provinces, with the advice on various matters wherein the individual responsibility of His Excellency was involved, there should have arisen no occasion or instance where the Governor had not differed from his Ministers, but it seems there they had to surrender and surrender not on merits but because of the power of the political party in those provinces. Now it clearly proves that the British Government is not prepared to part with powers. They wish to retain them as far as possible."

The Premier continued that the House could legitimately ask why the Ministers were continued to be in office under these humiliating conditions. He said that when he went to Delhi last time, he took up this question with the Viceroy, complaining against the exercise of special powers. Under the public declaration of the Viceroy, it was made clear that where Ministers were free to disclose the correspondence, which had

> been, carried on between the Governor and the Ministers. Therefore, when he came back, he wanted to bring all instances before the House but it had been suggested to him by the Governor that, in the first instance, it would be desirable that case of disagreement might be sent to the Secret·· of State and they should await his decision.
>
> The Premier declared: "Although it has been suggested to me, I personally feel that it is no use our resigning in a huff. Let us wait and since this offer had been made by the Viceroy, let us get some more information and have a clear-cut answer from the British Government to find out what their attitude is going to be. Then the House will be taken into confidence and apprised of all those instances which had taken place so far and then they should decide on merits whether the advice tendered by the Ministers was a right one, or whether the decision arrived at by the Governor was in the interests of this country or not. He concluded, "personally, we the Ministers have not yet come to a final conclusion but we are inclined to send those instances to the Secretary of the State.

If the House and Premier Allah Bux Soomro had continued to pressure the Governor, the political scenario of Sindh would probably have changed because the governor had only two options before him. He could surrender to the Parliament or he could dismiss the cabinet by invoking some unconstitutional measure or the other.

In either case, the arrest of Pir Pagaro and his followers' retaliatory movement would have been handled far more astutely. The British administration would have faced pressure from two redoubtable groups-one led by the Hur fighters and the other by the political forces of Sindh and the subcontinent.

Allah Bux Soomro had let a golden opportunity go by. It was not until another ten months that he would get a similar chance during the Quit India movement. In his letter to the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Allah Bux

Soomro protested against the ruthless actions of the colonial administration and recounted how the people of the subcontinent had been brutalized.

With his missive, he incurred the wrath of the British administration. Allah Bux Soomro was abruptly removed from his post. Perhaps if the deposed premier had continued his protest against the highhandedness of the colonial-minded governor, the people of Sindh would have closed ranks and forced the British to reverse their anti-people strategy.

The differences continued between the governor and the cabinet on the administrative authority.
Following is a report by the governor to the viceroy on the widening of differences between him and the ministers.

Government House, Karachi
22nd December 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow
Law and Order:

Within the last few days, the D.I.G. report on the measures necessary to round up the Hurs have been received, and the measures have been at once sanctioned almost without comment by my ministers. The measures include the putting of large rewards on the heads of the principal desperadoes and the recruitment of the special police forces both for intelligence work and for actually rounding up the Hurs. They have also unfortunately involved the removal of the young D.S.P. who was posted to Nawabshah from the presidency last hot weather and who has proved unequal to his responsibilities. It is clear that the District must be administered for some time with the utmost vigour, yet this is the district to which my ministers now wish me to post as District Magistrate a diabetic provincial service officer who according to medical advice is only fit for light work in a good climate.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Hurs had continued their guerilla activities so as to paralyse the government. Following is a report by the governor to the viceroy on the actions of the Hurs.

Government House Karachi
7 January 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow
Law and order:

The official report rather 'surprisingly says nothing particular. Actually the end of this fortnight has been marked in the Nawabshah District by a series of murderous dacoities committed by the Pir Pagaro's followers in which several people has lost their lives. This reticence is probably to be ascribed to the fact that my ministers have been trying to bring pressure on me to transfer to the district a "listed officer" quite incapable to coping with it, or else putting upon me the responsibility of ruling them, "in my individual judgement".

This particular plot has, however in circumstances, which I have separately reported to you, been brought to wrought by the revolt of the Home Minister, who now agrees. with me that the District Magistrate of Nawabshah and the adjoining district of Thar Parker can not be transferred in view of the present disturbance.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The British forces appeared to be hamstrung by the activities of the Hurs, and the administrators themselves, as a result were feeling the heat. They were not sure how the rebellion could be put down. So they began fleshing out a scheme to send the Pir into exile, preferably a place where he would be cut off from his followers. The Indian Ocean Islands of the Andamans were considered appropriate. Following is a report by the governor to the viceroy.

Government House, Karachi
7 February 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The Pir Pagaro's followers still continue to give trouble. About this I have written to you separately. On the most recent

outrage we have not a full report, but at present it looks as if a police post, not largely out numbered, were taken unawares in circumstances which reflect unfavourably on them, and it is a disquieting feature that neither of the District Magistrates concerned are fully satisfied with the morale and courage of the force. My minister is giving full support in the measures taken against the Hurs, and has told me that he thinks it would assist if the Pir himself removed from India. There would be less chance of establishing some underground means of communication with his followers, and it would indicate more clearly the unlikelihood of his return. You mentioned, however, in an earlier letter that there would be difficulty about the Andamans. I should be grateful for a more precise indication of the nature of those difficulties before deciding whether I ought, in spite of them, to give full support to my ministers' recommendation to expatriate the Pir.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In April 1942, the British administration worked out the legal procedures that were required for banishing Pir Pagaro from his land. About the same time, administration officials mulled over plans to extradite the Congress leadership on the eve of the launching of the Quit India Movement in August 1942. But neither of the two moves was made. Following is a report by Amery to Viscount Cranborne. L/P&J/8/599: F 104

India Office,
23 July 1942

My dear Bobbety,

You will be aware of our present anxieties in India caused by the threat of the Congress Working Committee's Resolution of 14th July to launch a mass civil disobedience movement if the British Government declines to withdraw from India at the request of Congress. This resolution requires to be approved by the All-India Congress Committee, which is due to meet on the 7th August, and presumably within a short period thereafter we may expect a mass movement to be started which of course will be a direct challenge to the authority of Government and

will have to be dealt with as such. The War Cabinet recently authorised the taking of strong measures against Congress, if necessary, and we have to contemplate therefore the probable arrest of Gandhi and of the members of the Working Committee.

If this becomes necessary the Viceroy and his advisers are greatly attracted by the suggestion that if possible the principal Congress leaders, or such of them as are strong enough to face the journey (a consideration that would probably exclude Gandhi and one or two of the Working Committee) should be removed to detention in Uganda, or elsewhere in East Africa. This would greatly facilitate the task of cutting off communication between the arrested leaders and their followers, and the Viceroy believes that the move would have very valuable consequences, both as a deterrent on those who aspire to take the place of the arrested men and as a means of giving confidence to waverers who will more readily believe the government did not intend to compromise with Congress. The idea is that the persons removed should be removed by air. It seems to be accepted that Gandhi, with his very high blood pressure, could not be so moved. It might however be feasible to transport him by sea to Aden, where the altitude is suitable enough and the climate not much worse than that of Western India. I am putting this to Linlithgow.

I am myself attracted by the suggestion. It is not necessary to decide here and now whether it should be adopted, but it is very desirable to make all preparations for the eventuality. I should therefore be most grateful if you could see your way, at your early convenience, to ascertain if the East African authorities could undertake the custody in reasonable comfort but cut off as far as possible from communication with India of up to 12 or 15 of the Congress leaders, and if the Aden authorities could deal similarly with Gandhi. It is of course of great importance that the enquiries should be secret. The legal side of such step was worked out between our Departments last April in the case of the Pir pagaro[2] (who is still in India) and should present no difficulty.

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2. The Pir Pagaro was the leader of a professedly Muslim sect, the Hurs, who had been responsible for a long series of disturbances in

Other than Gandhi the arrested men would be flown from India and our arrangements should therefore be completed within the next month.

I very much hope you will be able to help.

Yours ever,
L.S.A.

The Hurs fought against the British forces with derring-do and had impelled the administration to call out the army. Following is a report by the governor to the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
7 March 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The Hur troubles remain a major pre-occupation, and about these I have written to you separately. It is now proposed during the present session to pass legislation, which will give wide powers to the local officers to require security from those who are aiding and sheltering the miscreants, and in default to imprison them for a period up to three years. There is still, however, the possibility that the disorders may not be stamped out without resort to the use of military force.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Upper Sindh and the State of Khairpur.
His arrest in October 1941 led to further serious unrest and arrangements were made with the Colonial Office to deport the Pir to Uganda in order to cut him off from all communication with his followers (which it was feared could never be prevented while the Pir was imprisoned in India) and to hearten law-abiding sections of the population who feared his early return. "
The examination from Colonial Office and the India Office of the legal aspects of deportation indicated that persons lawfully detained in India could equally be detained in a Colonial territory, provided that the Indian authorities could effect their deportation and transfer from India to the Colonial destination. The India Office believed that, on a reasonable construction of the Government of India act 1935, Seventh Schedule, List 1, No. 17, the powers of Indian legislature, and therefore the governor-general's ordinance-making powers, extended to deportation, though they felt some doubt whether they extended to detention while in transit. But they advised the Government of India that the deportation ordinance should provide of this."

Those fears were not unfounded and the Hurs showed how deadly they could be. In a bloody encounter they killed Ghulam Rasul Shah, the Nazim of Khairpur Police, an experienced high-ranking police officer. Shah was a ruthless hunter of the Hurs.

The battle at Khenwari was fought on 14 March 1942. Five personnel from the Khairpur State Police, including the Nazim, were slain and another ten wounded. Nine Hurs were also reported dead, though the number of their wounded could not be ascertained.

The Hurs had made plans to dispose off their worst enemy and debase the forces of the Mir of Khairpur State.

The Hur Ghazis in the command of Waryam Khaskheli, Hassan and Gul Khan Nizamani had cordoned off the Khenwari bungalow where Ghulam Rasul Shah was camping with his force. They attacked the camp in the early hours. But before their attack, the Hurs had decided to axe to death the Nazim. They were determined not to shoot him to death. His would-be assassin was promised an honour that no Fakir had ever possessed before. For that purpose, they had created an elite axe fighters squad in the command of Lotu. The battle-hardened Walidino Behan was a member of the squad.

The Hurs pounced on the Nazim-led forces, raising the slogans 'long live Pir Pagaro' and 'Death to Nazim!' In the meantime the Nazim ordered the Khairpur state police force to confront their foes. Soon a gun battle ensued during the course of which the Hurs overpowered the forces of Khairpur State: Hur fighters overran the camp at the bungalow but by then the Nazim had taken shelter into one of the rooms. The Hurs soon found the place and

knocked on the door. Realising he was cornered, the Nazim opened fire on his pursuers. It was easy for the Hurs to rain down bullets in retaliation, but they were mindful of their commanders' instruction to axe him to death rather than shoot him. It is understood that several Hurs were slain or wounded merely because they were eager not to break their word. They bided their time and overpowered the Nazim of police, with the consent of all Hur Fakirs. A senior commander Waryam Khaskeli swung the axe in cavalier style and killed the Nazim.

This brazen act struck terror in the hearts of the British administration. The Hurs adopted a series of successful hit-and-run operations against government forces. By now, the governor was increasingly worried; he was no longer sure whether the Hurs could be contained by the police force at his disposal. Only the army could be counted on to face the Hur insurrection. At the same time, the governor harboured fears that the Hurs could change their tactics and spread their campaign to other parts of the province if the army was called out to quell the trouble. That danger was ever present. In spite of that, he called out the army.

In the same report, the governor informed the viceroy that the Assembly had passed the Hur Act, but noted it was a deviation from the one envisaged by the British administration, because the Assembly had revised the original draft. The governor apprehended that the viceroy would not accept the fresh draft and subsequently he made his concerns public. In the event that it was rejected, the administration would have been forced to issue an ordinance.

In the same report the governor admitted that the

members were not inclined to pass the bill. Following is a letter from Hugh Dow to Lord Linlithgow.

Government House Karachi
21st March 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The Hur troubles are an extremely serious threat. My Chief Secretary has just returned from Delhi where he has explained the situation as fully as possible to officers of the Home and Defence Departments. There have been further outrages during the last week by larger bands. . Here in Karachi I have had several conferences with General Norton, G.O.C. of the Western District and some of his officers. There is no doubt that the trouble will not be put down without the use of considerable military force, but we are agreed that we are not yet justified in recourse to martial law. But the use of large military forces in support of the police when these have to be dispersed over large areas of the country raises very difficult administrative problems, quite different in kind from those that arise when the military can act, with a magistrate present, to suppress riots with in town. The problem is still really a police problem, but the police are insufficient in numbers and deficient in morale. The decision arrived at was that the local police officers should work out on the spot a detailed plan for clearing the Makhi Dhand area, which is the main lurking place of the gang, and that this should then be put into operation at once by the police with military support.
In the mean time, the bill for the suppression of the Hurs, of which I sent you a copy few days ago, was passed through all its stages by the Legislative Assembly yesterday in somewhat extraordinary circumstances. A secret session was announced, and I understand that even the official reporters were excluded, a note of the proceedings being kept by the Secretary of the Assembly. I have not yet received a full account of what happened, but there were several amendments carried, some of which my Chief Secretary is apprehensive may make it impossible for you to give assent to the Bill. I will write to you separately about this as soon as the matter can be sorted out, and perhaps the solution will be an Ordinance on the lines of the Bill in the form in which you would be prepared to accept it. The Assembly was prorogued by me immediately after passage of the Bill.

The reason of the secret session was of course sheer funk. Hardly anyone would have dared to vote for the bill lest he should be marked down for future vengeance of the Pir.

Perhaps the most disgraceful incident of all was a letter which I received on the afternoon when the Bill came up from K.B. Khuhro, purporting to be written on behalf of the Muslim League party of which he is leader, and announcing that he and his party, even with the protection of the secret session, would abstain from voting for the Bill considering that this party has consistently denounced the weakness of the Allah Bux ministry in securing law and order, it shows a pretty low depth of cowardice, though of course the letter alleges other grounds.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Sindh Assembly proceedings Vol---XVI----No.14

Friday, 20th March 1942

The Assembly met at the Assembly Hall, Karachi, on Friday, the 20th March 1942, at 11 a.m. the Honourable Deputy Speaker, Miss Jethi T, Sipahimalani, presiding.

Present:

1. Abdul Majid Shaikh
2. Abdus Sattar Pirzada, Hon'ble, Mr.
3. Akhji Ratan Singh, Sodho, Mr.
4. Allah Bux Khudad Khan Gabol, K.B
5. Allah Bux Muhammad Umer, Hon'ble K.B
6. Allahdad Khan Imam Bakhsh Khan Talpur
7. Arbab Toghachi Mir Muhammad, Mr.
8. Choithram P. Gidwani, Dr.
9. Dialmal Daulatram, Mr.
10. Daulatram Mohandas, Mr.
11. Fraser. J, Mr.
12. Ghanumal Tarachand, Mr.
13. Ghulam Ali Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur, Mr.
14. Ghulam Allah Khan Mir Haji Hussain Bux Khan Talpur
15. Ghulam Haider Makhdoom Zahir-ud-din, Makhdoom
16. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Hon'ble, Sir

17. Ghulam Hyder Shah Sahibdino Shah, Pir
18. Ghulam Muhammad Abdullah Khan Asran, K.B.
19. Ghulam Nabi Shah Mouj Ali Shah, K.B. Haji
20. Gobindram Pritamdas, Mukhi
21. Gokaldas Mewaldas Hon'ble R.S.
22. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani, Dr.
23. Hossack, Lt-Col., W.B.
24. Illahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali, Hon'ble, Pir
25. Issardas Varindmal, Mr.
26. Jenubai Ghulam Ali Allana, Mrs.
27. Lalla Menghraj Bherumal
28. Mohan, Col. H.J. Mr.
29. Muhammad Ali Shah Allahindo Shah Sayed, Mr.
30. Muhammad Amin Khoso, Mr.
31. Muhammad Ayub Shah Muhammad Khan Khuhro, K.B.
32. Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad alias Fabji Gazdar, Mr.
33. Muhammad Khan Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio, Mir
34. Muhammad Usman Muhammad Khan Soomro, Mr.
35. Muhammad Yusuf K.B. Khair Muhammad Khan Chandio, Mr.
36. Naraindas Anandji Bechar, Mr.
37. Nur Muhammad Shah Murad Ali Shah Sayed, Mr.
38. Partabrai Khaisukhdas, Mr.
39. Popatlal A. Bhooptkar, Dr.
40. Rustomji Khurshidji Sidhwa, Mr.
41. Shamsuddin Khan Abdul Kabir Khan Mr.
42. Sitaldas Perumal, Mr.
43. Sohrab Khan Sahibdino Khan Sarki, K. S.
44. Valecha, Mr. C.T.

The secret session of the House had started at 3.30 p.m. Bill No. IV of 1942 (Hurs' Bill).

The House met again at 3.30 p.m. for a secret session, with the Honourable speaker in the chair, and passed all the three readings of Bill No. IV of 1942 (the suppression of Hurs' outrages Bill) by 5 p.m.

The British government had posted H.T. Lambrick as a civil advisor and incharge of the Hur operation. H. T. Lambrick had toured Makhi Dhand, a stronghold of the

Hurs, and other trenches of the Hurs. In order to handle the Hurs, he created an elaborate network.

In May 1942 Adil Rajar Fakir organised a lavish feast at the wedding of his brother. Through the government agencies, Lambrick was informed of the feast. Lambrick made plans to launch a surprise attack during the wedding ceremony as he expected Hurs to attend the feast in large numbers.

The Hurs also had a decent intelligence network and they received a forewarning about the planned strike. Adil Rajar was prepared for the assault. A hundred Hurs were deployed for the purpose of defence.

A royal battle took place near Rabalo in the Thar Desert on the night of 20/21 May 1942. Lambrick was given something to think about by the Hurs, whose combat skills in the desert are legendary. Lambrick's men tasted defeat at the hands of the Hurs. Several soldiers were killed and wounded. The Hur Ghazi Sain Rakhio made an observation on that fight:

> This Limerick (Lambrick) should now be cured of his curiosity, and will think twice before he proceeds again to attack the Fakirs in their strongholds. It was well said, that the man who goes forth to hunt lions in the desert should bear in mind that the lions may hunt him.

On 1st June 1942 the government after its failure to cope with the Hurs through regular forces had imposed martial law in Sindh.

Sain Rakhio, a Hur Ghazi, who narrated the Hur engagements with H.T. Lambrick, recounted the position of regular government forces as under:

> The police have failed utterly to cope with us Ghazis, and. have already begun to work off their ill temper on the heads of the weak and inoffensive disciples. Now, apparently, the military have absolute authority; but being entirely ignorant of the country, and not understanding a word of our language, these discredited petty officers of the police are installed as their advisers and interpreters. From them the foreign military officers must seek guidance-"Is this man a Hur? -"Is this a Hur village?" and so on. On what principle do you suppose the policemen will answer? I do not suggest that they are ignorant. On the contrary, they know far too much for our helpers and us: but it does not follow that they will tell all they know to their masters, or that what they do tell will be truth. Few of them are so stupid as not to perceive that the real power, so far as it can be exerted, is now in their hands: and being. freed from the check with their own English officers, who are acquainted with the language and customs of our country, used to exercise over them, they can perpetrate villainy to their hearts' content, blackmailing all who can pay to escape, and sending others to the sacrifice. I tell you, Sain Rakhio, there are hard times coming for this country, and we, who are likely to suffer least, should never look down on our humble comrades; though our own duties prevent us from doing much to ease their lot, we shall at least strive to avenge all that they suffer for the cause.

In these times of chaos and anarchy, the Sindh government requested the governor to issue arms licences to the citizens for their self-defence. The governor was worried that the weapons issued in the name of private citizens would fall into the hands of the Hurs. He feared that Hurs would easily snatch those weapons from them and use the same against the British forces.

Dow also conceded that the regular forces would not be able to quash the Hur rebellion.

Following is a report from Hugh Dow, governor of Sindh, to the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
11 April 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

Hur outrages still continue. The special officer referred to in Para 7 of the official report is of course Lambrick, and since my return from Delhi I have already received evidence that he has taken up this work with vigour and initiative. During the last few days .he has made reconnaissance through the tangled country between the Jamrao and Mathrao canals and a round up of those Hurs, who are already under the obligation of giving "Hazri" to the Police, has been arranged for the weekend. Arrangements for special trains for their conveyance to the Sukkur jail have been made, and if the operation is entirely successful it should result in the removal from the area of some thousand or more Hurs who are aiders and abettors of the murder gang.

My ministers still clamour for a freer hand in giving out gun licences, and will probably in spite of my advice be soon asking your Home Dept., to reverse their present policy. The grounds alleged are the present insecurity and the fact that the police are unable to afford adequate protection to the public, who must therefore be allowed to arm themselves. This attitude persists in ignoring the fact that a very large number of the recent Hur outrages have been carried out for the purpose of obtaining guns from license holders; that in many these weapons, with ammunition, have been handed over to the Hurs at once; and that where there has been a show of resistance, the handling of those weapons has been so inexpert as to be an added source of danger to the victims rather than to the Hurs. I have suggested to my Premier that the Government of India might be more sympathetic towards a scheme of pooling existing licenced weapons with a view to redistributing them into more reliable hands for the defence of outlying villages, but I doubt if he will take such advice.

His attitude is mainly, I fear, a concession to the clamour of his Hindu supporters, and those have in mind principally protection against the other community if the existing troubles should, under outsider pressure, become more widespread, and take on a communal character.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Linlithgow appreciated the efforts of the governor and appeared satisfied with the work of Lambrick. Following is a letter from Lord Linlithgow to Dow.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
30 April 1942

Dear Hugh Dow

I am delighted that the measures against the Hurs are going on so well I have every confidence, as you know, in Lambrick's competence and I am so glad that I and Major Deeks are getting on well together.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

The Hur forces had compelled the administration to call up the regular army and frontier constabulary in aid of regular forces because the Hurs had mounted attacks in different areas with the aim of opening more war fronts to engage them in the entire province. Following is a report from Dow to viceroy.

Government House Karachi

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Most grateful to you for securing the continuance of Deek's services: he strikes me as most competent and levelheaded, and he and Lambrick have started taking a great liking for each other. The six platoons of Frontier Constabulary are due to arriving today. This accession of strength will enable us at once to take more offensive measures in the more open country, in which the recent outrages have been committed: the general conclusion on which we are all agreed, as the result of Lambrick's general survey and of his march through the Makhi *Dhand* area, is that the restoration of confidence in the more settled areas is more important at the moment than operations in the Jungle area. I am glad to say that the ministers can now be relied on for full co-operation in the measures necessary to suppress the Hurs, and they are particularly insistent on the necessity of the removal of the Pir and his family from India. They have also

accepted Lambrick's view that the main object of most of the recent small outrages has been the obtaining of arms, and that the guns in the hands of the ordinary population, instead of being a protection to them are the direct cause of their danger. Within this area, therefore, Lambrick has been given a free hand to disarm the population or to distribute arms, as he considers necessary. I hope this will lead to the ministry taking a more realistic view of the arms question in other parts of the province.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Hurs had made breaches in protective Bunds to punish the landlords who were spying on them on behalf of the government. The governor realised that if the Hurs continued their action on the Bunds local landlords and the government would suffer substantial losses.

At the same time he was happy that these activities of the Hurs would make more enemies of them and that the landlords who were not energetically supporting the government in counteraction would be goaded into action against the Hurs. Following is a report by the governor to the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
6th May 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Operations against the Hurs continue. The most dangerous manifestation recently has been the cutting of irrigation Bunds. Sindh is extremely vulnerable against sabotage of that kind, which could easily ruin the cultivation of vast areas and put communication out of order. So far the damage done has not been great, and has been directed against ruining the crops of particular enemies rather than paralyzing the administration. But if such sabotage should be carried out on a wider scale, it may be necessary to cut off the irrigation of whole canal systems, involving enormous losses both to the revenue and to the law-abiding Zamindars. If that should become necessary, one might hope that one result would be

more active interest of the local Zamindars in the suppression of the Hurs, in place of the passive support, which is the most source, we secure at present.

The deportation of the Pir Pagaro from India, never to return; with power to impose a like fate on any of his family or followers who shows any disposition to step in his shoes, is most manifestly necessary. There have been no recent moves from the C.P. Government as to this progress of the Pir's hunger strike, but nobody here believes that he will persist in it.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The British administration took into custody the family of Pir Pagaro on 8 May 1942 and confined its members at the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bux Talpur at Bunder Road, Karachi. Sayed Shah Mardan Shah and Sayed Nadir Shah, both in their teens and other family members temporarily lived in Karachi. The two brothers were then sent to Aligarh and in 1946 to England for further studies.

On 16 May 1942 a band of Hurs fighters led by Mattu Khaskheli removed the railway track and attacked the Lahore Mail between Uderolal and Tando Adam stations. The train was on its way from Karachi to Lahore.

The Premier of Sindh Allah Bux Soomro, the provincial minister Nihchaldas Vazirani and the son of the Home Minister of Sindh, Munawar Hidayatullah, were on board the train. At Hyderabad station Jam Jan Mohammed, MLA and landlord in Sanghar District met with Allah Bux Soomro and persuaded him to discontinue his journey. Apparently Jam Jan Muhammad had some information about the planned attack. Allah Bux Soomro heeded his counsel and left the train at Hyderabad.

After derailing the train the Hurs attacked the first-class compartment. Munawar Hidayatullah was slain in the

attack, while the Minister for Revenue Nihchaldas Vazirani, who hid in the lavatory, had a narrow escape. The Hurs fled soon after the attack. Wisal Mohammed Khan, an eyewitness, recalls the incident:

> After the completion of the Army Intelligence Course at Karachi, I decided to return to Lahore by the ill-fated Lahore Mail, which was derailed in area Chaprao north of Hyderabad at about 9 p.m., by removal of the railway fishplates. The Hurs had apparently divided themselves into two parties that are the raiding and covering parties. The former under effective covering fire from the latter entered the compartments and started looting and eliminating the passengers by the use of axes, guns and rifles.

The derailment removed whatever illusions the British may have had about overcoming the threat of the Hurs. From then on they treated their operations as that of freedom fighters, not terrorists. They also reconsidered their own strategy, and took all measures to suppress the movement. Within two weeks of the incident, they imposed martial law in Sindh and put other kinds of restrictions on civilians.

The governor in his statement had threatened to punish any person who dared to cooperate with the Hurs. He also informed the viceroy about the fighting between the Hur militia and government forces under Lambrick's command. He made no bones of expressing reservations on the leadership of the Sindh Congress and its alleged relationship with the Hurs. Following is a letter from the governor to the viceroy.

> Government House Karachi
> 23rd May 1942
>
> Dear Lord Linlithgow,
>
> About the Hur situation I have been keeping you separately informed as information comes in. You will have

seen the statement which I issued to the press two days ago, and today I have followed this up by an appeal and solemn warning to the Zamindars of the tract, pointing out that by giving any kind of assistance to these bands who are wanted on capital offences, they are laying themselves open to the same penalties, and that punishment will be sure and summary. News in today without further details as yet is that Lambrick has fallen in with a party of Hurs and shot four dead, but the loss of three of the Frontier Constabulary. Deliberate breaches on the canals are becoming very numerous: there have been no less than 50 in the first eleven miles of the Khipro canal. A band of fifty Hurs have been captured and sent in to Hyderabad, apparently as the result of a drive through the Mukhi Dhand area.

I think it likely that with the declaration of martial law, we shall get fuller information as to the extent to which prominent members of the Congress party here have been dealing with the Hurs. Soon after the Pir's incarceration, Sidhwa tried to put himself at the head of agitation for the Pir's release, and it is now known that Sidhwa met here one of Pir's principal *Khalifa,* who brought with him a considerable sum of money. Information has also been received that another Congress M.L.A., Ghanshyamdas, whose report on the Hur situation was recently considered and formed the subject of a resolution by the Provincial Congress Committee, which has since been published. A number of Hurs, offered to arrange for him an interview with some of Hur leaders. Ghanshyamdas drew back at this and is said also to have refused the offer of bribe, but the point is that he was in touch with men who could have given valuable information and failed to pass it on. He is being interrogated about this. It seems clear that the unexpected murder of Sitaldas, and the subsequent revelations of his complicity with the Hurs, has at least put local Congressmen in embarrassing situation.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

On 1st June 1942 the government imposed martial law in Sindh to confront the Hurs. Sain Rakhio, a Hur Ghazi, outlined the circumstances surrounding the imposition of martial law and military forces.

The police have failed utterly to cope with us Ghazis, and have already begun to work off their ill temper on the heads of the weak and inoffensive disciples. Now, apparently, the military have absolute authority; but being entirely ignorant of the country, and not understanding a word of our language, these discredited petty officers of the police are installed as their advisors and interpreters. From them the foreign military officers must seek guidance-"Is this man a Hur?-"Is this a Hur village?" and so on. On what principle do you suppose the policemen will answer? I do not suggest that they are ignorant On the contrary, they knew far too much about us and our helpers: but it does not follow that they will tell all they know to their new masters, or that what they do tell will be the truth. Few of them are so stupid as not to perceive that the real power, so far as it can be exerted, is now in their hands: and being freed from the check which their own English officers, who are acquainted with language and customs of our country, used to exercise over them, they can perpetrate villainy to their hearts' content, blackmailing all who can pay to escape, and sending others to the sacrifice.

The Hur fighters attack constantly to paralyse the government forces and demoralise the administration. Following is a report from representative of Sindh Government C.B.B Clee to Conran Smith.

Government of Sindh
6th June 1942

Dear Conran Smith,

The number of crimes committed by the Hurs steadily increased and the month of the May has seen a very definitely worsening of the situation, including those resulting from the derailment of trains described in my last report, the total casualties for the month resulting from Hur outrages and operations against them are 58 killed and 72 injured. The worst crime except the derailment of the Lahore Mail, being an attack on a passenger bus in Thar Parkar District in which the bus was held up and burnt and 13 persons, one being an Inspector of Police, were killed. Other offences, such as the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, the derailment of the

patrol engine, in which the driver was killed, and the breaching of canals and the damaging of canal regulators also occurred. Of the latter, the most serious was the cutting of the bank of the Jamrao canal on the 20th May which resulted in the flooding of the town of the Khadro with much damage to property and to the breaching of the railway. And this has been in spite of the vigorous measures taken by the Additional District Magistrate, Nawabshah and Thar Parkar, and the reforcing of the Sindh Police under his control by 6 platoon of North-West frontier Province constabulary, platoons of Zhoob Militia and 100 armed police from the Punjab.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

The leadership of the Congress (Sindh chapter) had suggested that the governor reconsider the case of Pir Pagaro. But the governor was satisfied with his action and in his following letter he shared his opinion with the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
6th June 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I have very few remarks to make on the official fortnightly report for the second half of the May. Public attention in Sindh during this period was almost wholly taken up by the Hurs. My own public statements, I think prepared the public for strong measures and stoppered down the defeatist counsels, which were becoming frequent in the Hindu press. Nobody really believed that the release of Pir would mean more than an uneasy lull in the tale of murders and sabotage from which his followers are responsible; the outrages might become less indiscriminate while the Pir picked off his particular enemies at leisure, while those who could persuade him that their agitation had been responsible for his release might hope to purchase immunity from his attentions. But the determination of Government to stamp out the pest once and for all has been received with relief by almost everybody, and I have not seen any local newspaper in which the declaration of martial law has not been well received. Newspapers, which a few months ago were afraid to

mention the Hur outrages except in the barest outline are now openly condemning the movement in the strongest terms.

The three Congressmen mentioned in Para 7 of the official report have all in their own way taken the line that the Hurs have been goaded into their excesses by indignation over the arrest of the Pir: they conveniently forget that the Pir's arrest came as the result, and did not precede, a long series of murders and outrages by his followers, whom he had consistently refused or neglected to restrain. The demand for Pir's release is based on the assumption that he has both the power and the will to control his followers. Before he was put under restraint he claimed that with the best will and the world he had no such power, and was helpless in the face of their violence. The course of events has shown clearly enough the hollowness of these professions, and that it is impossible to regard the Pir otherwise than as the head of the murder gang.

Para 11 of the official report shows a tendency to throw the blame for the present widespread disturbance on the Central Government for not having paid earlier attention to our forecast that extensive use of troops would be necessary. I do not associate myself with that criticism. Without martial law, I do not think more troops would have been effective, or those operations could have been confined to a more limited area. The Hur bands, easily dispersing themselves, would have left the troops high and dry, and would perhaps have extended the area of their own operations even more rapidly. Martial law is an extreme measure, and could not be justified to deal with a situation, which was not extreme, however clearly we might see that it might become so. There would certainly not have been general approbation if martial law had been declared at an earlier stage, and I do not think that troops acting in support of the civil power, but without martial law, would have been able to cope with the disorders.

The remarks about the police made at the end of Para 11 are worth particular attention. It is clear that inefficiency of the Police force is at the root of the present troubles, and that a searching inquiry into the many causes and manifestations of this is necessary. I am already busy with the examination. Here I may mention that the following words, which appeared

in the rough draft of this Para, were omitted as the result of vehement protests of my two Hindu ministers:

It would seem that our recruitment policy must be very thoroughly overhauled. Sindhis should seldom, if ever, be recruited into the armed branch, and the taking of semi educated Sindhi Hindus for general work in the districts must be put an end to. Such men have been found to be useless in time of stress. Communal feelings are deep and strong, and the Hindu ministers are not likely to admit any facts from which the inference may be drawn that there should be fewer jobs for the Hindus.

The murder of Sitaldas made a vacancy for an M.L.A. in a Hindu rural constituency. I don't think there was an anxiety for candidates to come forward, and on being approached by Congress to postpone the election I agreed to be guided by the advice of my Hindu ministers, and the election has accordingly been postponed.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The governor narrated the story of the after-effects of the imposition of martial law in the province, and the opinion of Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and the Muslim League regarding martial law. Following is a letter of Hugh Dow to Lord Linlithgow.

Government House Karachi
20th June 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

Local politics are much concerned with the way in which the situation created by martial law can be exploited. Its actual declaration was well corned by all parties and enthusiastically received by the press, but as was to expected, this uncritical attitude did not lost long,. and as the restrictions and inconveniences which such a regime inevitably imposes on the civil population come to be realised, enthusiasm naturally dies down. Two of the complaints made against the martial law administration are themselves symptoms of returning confidence. The press is beginning to complain that it gets insufficient information about the Hur outrages and the means

taken for their suppression. In the earlier stages of the troubles there was almost conspiracy of silence on the part of the press regarding any crimes of which now the Hurs were suspected: the press was either bought or terrified. Now they are confident that the Hurs are going to be suppressed and are anxious to publish all the news they can get. The second and more serious complaint relates to the difficulties in which the curfew orders involve cultivators who have to take their share of irrigation water at night.

Here again, it is a sign of returning confidence for many of these cultivators were contemplating abandoning their cultivation altogether under the pressure of the Hurs. I am satisfied that the Martial law Administrator is dealing sympathetically, with the advice of local civil officials, with this and other real difficulties, and is doing everything that can safely be done to mitigate hardship to the law-abiding population. He is certainly dealing with the utmost severity with all excesses on the part of his own troops, which are brought to his notice.

The Muslim League has no thought except how best to exploit the situation against the Ministry. K.B. Khuhro led a deputation to me last Monday to urge the dismissal of the Ministry on the ground of their responsibility for martial law "excesses": the deputationists all resided outside the martial law area and. had no facts to go on, and a suggestion from me that perhaps I ought to serve an order on K.B. Khuhro to live in the area in order that he might gain firsthand information of conditions was by no means received with enthusiasm.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In reply, Lord Linlithgow wrote a letter to H. Dow

Viceroy House, New Delhi
26th June 1942

Dear Hugh Dow

I was much interested in the valuable background it gives to local reactions to the [arrest of Pir Pagaro] ... The Hurs are disposed to come out with greater vigour than they thought it wise or desirable to display at an earlier date: I am, I need not say, much reassured by what you have been kind enough to

tell me about the attitude of the Martial law administration, and I am passing on your remarks on that point to the Commander-in- Chief.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The government faced problems in coping with the Hurs in the desert area or in their strongholds. It decided to parachute in squads in desert areas and forests to give air cover and assistance to ground troops.

On 1 July 1942 the British administration dropped in parachute troops [This was first operational exercise of that Arm in India]. Eyewitness Sain Rakhio Behan recorded his observations:

> Several days passed before anything happened. Then at dawn one morning a very large aeroplane flew over us towards the desert. As we watched it, from its belly a shower of white objects appeared, and began to float down towards the earth, just like feathers from a wild duck that the sportsman has clumsily shot behind. Though perhaps two or three kilometres away, in that clear air I was able to see that something hung from each of these white saucers, and said to Mohbat:
>
> 'Look, master: can it be that those are men that the aeroplane is launching down, suspended by sails?

Lord Linlithgow in his letter to Hugh Dow noted the views of Hugh Dow on the subject of agricultural growth; which was stunted by the imposition of martial law and Hur outrages. He also clarified the administrative issue between the governor and chief martial law administrator.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
14 July 1942.

Dear Hugh Dow

I note what you say in Para 7 of open letter (8th) about cultivation. I am sure you are right in the attitude you have

adopted towards the decision of the Martial Law Administrator.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

The British officials were incensed by the retaliation of the Hurs. Things came to such a point where they had to abandon whatever moral principles they had. The authorities had hatched a plot to destroy the citadel of Pir Pagaro. Under that strategy they expected to draw out the Hurs and crush them even as they rallied round their sacred place.

The British bombarded the twin bastions of Pir Pagaro at Pir-jo-Goth and Ganang bungalow near Sinjhoro. But their firepower was not enough to quell the battle-hardened Hur fighters. Cool-headed and shrewd, the Hur did not allow their emotions to get the better of them. They countered the administration well after having understood its every move.

Following their bombardment, the British administration sent a team under a British army official to search the Pir's citadel. A British official inspected the citadel of Pir Pagaro and wrote a letter to Lambrick about the search of his house.

G.O.C. Sukkur

5.8.1942

Dear Lambrick,
In, I am afraid, rather belated reply to your letter of the 25th about the Pir's Kot.

I took a Major Burrel of the Sappers to the Kot on the 31st to measure up the amount of explosive that would be needed.

> The job will probably take a week. The walls are thick; there are plenty of them, and a number of arches and windows to let out the blast. Also, the mosque and tomb are not far away - at one part there is only a six-foot passage and does not seem to be built as strongly as the Kot, so that considerable care will have to be taken.
>
> I don't think any resistance need be expected, but some troops would be needed. After the job was finished I don't think any special arrangements could be made. Repercussions then could only be in the form of retaliatory outrages, which might take place, if at all, anywhere. I think the destruction would have a very good effect: it would make people think that Government was in earnest.
>
> There is lot of stuff in the Kot - wheat, radios, old motor cars (and one 1940-41 Austin 8, brand new airguns, even a double barreled one), etc, a sort of assault boat, a great deal of piping and many big water tanks, and lots of stuff, suitcases, razais, slippers, bought from big stores. The Pir seems to have been ashamed to buy less than a dozen of anything. The stuff has been listed by the police, but it should be gone through carefully; it is possible that interesting evidence might come to light. Some of the stuff should be sold (it is only deteriorating where it is) and some could be used by the military.

Meanwhile the All-India Congress passed the 'Quit India' resolution after the collapse of talks between the Congress and the British administration.

The British administration pressed the Congress to support the Allies in their war against Germany and Japan. The Congress already had misgivings about the possibility because the British, contrary to their pledge to introduce constitutional reforms in India in exchange for support in the First World War campaign, did not inspire confidence this time around. Their pledge was not honoured.

The Congress was keen on home rule but Britain's stance did not become any softer. Even its offer to consider

the Congress demand at a later date was spurned. Eventually the Congress passed the Quit India resolution and asked the British to leave the subcontinent. The British retaliated immediately and arrested the forefront leadership of the Congress, including Gandhi, Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and other central committee members. Raja Gopalacharya was the only exception.

The Hur movement was still in its infancy when the Congress was in negotiations with the British. The Congress leadership of the Sindh chapter felt sympathy for the Hurs, but its parent outfit the All-India Congress-- did not support the freedom movement of Sindh people on a full scale. They were hoping to secure some sort of concessions from the British.

Although the Congress played a vital role in the freedom of the subcontinent, it had its share of demerits. They gave the cold shoulder to the struggle of the Sindh people under Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro' s leadership.

In an effort to minimise the communal juggernaut from the subcontinent, the Congress supported the Khilafat movement. Yet it did not support Sibghatullah Shah, a leader committed to inter-communal and inter-faith harmony. At the time of the communal riots over the Masjid Manzilgah issue, he played an excellent role. For his refusal to become part of the Muslim League's communal movement, he incurred the wrath of Muslim communalists.

It must be remembered that the Pir did not struggle for personal gain; he wanted to uphold the principle of inter-religious peace at all times.

The Congress did a disservice to the subcontinent on both political and communal counts.

Politically: The Congress due to its non-cooperative attitude with the Hur Movement had missed many positive political aspects.

1. The Congress had an opportunity to own the great nationalist Sayed Sibghatullah's freedom struggle and to make nationalist Muslim groups confident about the Congress and its aims.

2. If the Congress even partially had supported the Hur Movement and put pressure on the British, the imperialist power probably would have reconsidered its action against the Sindhis. This retreat of the British from the Sindh front would have boosted the freedom struggle in the entire subcontinent.

3. The Congress also could use it as a trump card at the time of its negotiations with the British.

4. Had the Congress supported the movement of the Sindhis, it would have garnered the support of the Hurs in the Quit India movement. These reciprocal gestures of solidarity would have put more pressure on the British.

Communally: The unnatural and untimely death of Pir Sibghatullah Shah was a great loss for Sindh as well as the non-communal groups of the subcontinent. If he had been alive, he would have tried to minimise the effects of communalism in the province, just as he had helped diffuse the controversy over Masjid Manzilgah. Also, it can be conjectured that in Sindh province, the reins of government would continuously have been in the hands of nationalist Muslims. Their sway in this politically important province

could have changed the entire atmosphere of the subcontinent. Inter-religious harmony would perhaps have been guaranteed, along with social and political justice. Again, the kind of coexistence and cooperation that could have been created here would have ensured prosperity for all.

For serving their petty interests, the British sowed the seeds of fundamentalism, while killing and persecuting non-communal persons like Pir Pagaro.

Their policy of divide and rule on religious basis, boosted fundamentalism. Their plan to support pan-Islamic groups provided them benefits during the Cold War against Russia and communism. But the British did not consider its negative aspects or rather glossed over the likely fallout, as is evident years later from the events of 9/11. Enveloping themselves in a cocoon of insecurity, they are now seeking help everywhere against fundamentalism. Although they have patched together an alliance against terrorism and religious bigotry, but the sobre-minded among them are still afraid, mainly due to the past record.

After the Hur rebellion of 1890, the British administration moved the militant forces of Punjab and Balochistan in the Hur-dominated areas of Sindh province. Under the same strategy, they brought mullahs with a pan-Islamic vision from there and pitted them against the progressive and spiritual Gadi of Pir Pagaro. These religious leaders openly showed their disdain for this spiritual institute. Unable to stomach such offenses for long, the Hurs executed a senior mullah in retaliation.

It stands to reason that, had the imperialist powers not encouraged sectarian strife and not victimised progressive persons like Pir Sibghatullah Shah, his

ancestors or any other liberal-minded persons and institutes, the world would be unlike what it is now.

Flawed strategies of the colonialist powers created a chaotic atmosphere in the universe. Millions of human beings lost their lives or suffered debilitating injuries. Property worth billions of dollars was destroyed.

The British were responsible for the sectarian wave that swept the mystic land of Sindh and sullied its non-communal nature. Yet, the land remained largely unpolluted, thanks to the timeless messages of the Sufi saints likes Sufi Shah Inayat of Jhok. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, Makhdoom. Bilawal, Makhdoom Moeen Thattvi, Sachal Sarmast, Qalandar Lal Shahbaz and the Pagaro family. Its inhabitants were endowed with the spirit of tolerance, pacifism and harmony.

Tens of thousands of people were killed in communal rioting even as millions abandoned their ancestral homes in the subcontinent at the time of the Partition-which brought about the world's biggest displacement of people.

In that bloodstained migration the hands of the indigenous Sindhis were clean. Some migrants had launched riots on the instructions of the non-Sindhi establishment Though Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, the first chief minister of Sindh after Partition, was partial to communalism in politics, he was opposed to the sectarian riots. For that he incurred the wrath of the powerful establishment.

This British policy was an embarrassment for liberal Muslims. The Parsis and Christians also became victims of the aggression of communal-minded groups. The

Parsis, who were the prime developers of Karachi, were perturbed by the religious strife. Many among them packed their bags and left. Goan Christians who had also contributed a lot to the city in education, health and technical institutes slowly began making their exit also. Only a few thousand are currently living in Saddar and other localities. Both these communities had never felt unsafe here. In fact, Sindhi Muslims looked upon them with respect and shared a close bond with them. These talented communities were seen as loyal sons of Sindh and their contribution in social, cultural and commercial terms was fully acknowledged. In conclusion one can say that Sindh and Sindhis suffered a lot because of their non-communal thinking but they were steadfast in their opinion that no religion was higher than humanity itself.

The Hurs continued their struggle and on 6 September 1942 they launched an attack on the Down Bombay train near Chhor on Rajputana border. Lukman Rajar, Adil Rajar, Nuro Wassan, Sain Rakhio Behan and other Hur Ghazis busied themselves in plans to sabotage the rail track. But the government unexpectedly changed the train schedule. As a result, the train pulled in an hour earlier. This time the Hurs were not able to place enough barriers in the train's path and it crossed the hindrances fairly easily. The Hur fighters opened fire on the train. Three women passengers and the train driver were injured in the firing. Following is a report by S.H. Raza to Conran Smith.

Government of Sindh
19 September 1942

Dear Conran Smith

During the fortnight, the Hurs have continued to commit odd dacoities involving murder and there have been two attacks on the railway. The first was a minor incident in which

their shots were fired at a rail motor between Ghotki and Sarhad railway station on September the 2nd. No casualties occurred and no damage was done. The second was an attack, which might easily have had very serious results, on the Jodhpur Mail in the Mirpurkhas district in the early morning of 6th September. On rounding a bend the driver of the Mail noticed an obstruction on the line. He at once accelerated and pushed through the obstruction but while doing so shots were fired and he and three Muslim ladies on the train received slight pellet wounds. As far as 150 Hurs from the desert area, mounted on camels and there is no doubt that if the train had been forced to stop or had been derailed, a tragedy similar to that of the derailment of the Lahore Mail, in May last might have ensued. Fortunately the train was not stopped and most of the passengers, including a party of men belonging to the Baluch Regiment returning from leave, were unaware of the incident until the next station was reached. The attackers were pursued by a military force and it is believed casualties were inflicted upon them.

Yours sincerely
S.H. Raza

The Sindh Muslim League commended the move to impose martial law. But G.M. Sayed; a staunch Muslim Leaguer at that time, disagreed with them. He pursued the matter with Sindh League leaders and called for the withdrawal of martial law. Following is a report by the Governor to the viceroy.

Government House Karachi
21 September 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I learn that the local branch of the Muslim League, who from last February were demanding Martial Law and hailed its imposition with delight are now likely to lead agitation for its removal. This is not of course because the Hurs have been suppressed, but rather because the less reputable connections of leading members of the own party, and particularly those of G.M. Sayed and K.B. Khuhro are coming under too close scrutiny by the Martial Law authorities. The agitation may be dangerous, because there is some reason for thinking that many Muslim Leaguers, who have been particularly opposed

to the Pir's party, are seeking to make their peace with the Hurs by directing the latter's crimes more exclusively against Hindus. Also, the Muslim Leaguers are quite unscrupulous in the methods by which they seek to discredit Allah Bux, and all the unpleasant results of Martial law are put down to his account.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Government official in his letter to Conran Smith put all crimes in the account of the Hurs, though several criminal bands were active in different areas of the province.

Government of Sindh
19 October 1942

My Dear Conran Smith

The Martial law authorities are still engaged in the desert operations against the Hurs. Seven cases of dacoity and murder involving 4 deaths and injury to 7 persons occurred in the martial law area during the fortnight.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

The governor in his letter to the viceroy confessed that the measures the administration had applied to suppress the Hur movement were fruitless. Also, he informed the viceroy about the reaction of the citizens regarding the imposition of martial law. Martial law, in fact, impinged on citizens' rights and its imposition was greeted with protests. This outpouring of public dissent compelled the premier of Sindh to ask the governor to revoke the martial law from Sukkur, Hyderabad and Karachi. Following is a report.

Government House Karachi
25th October 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

There is no obvious change in Hur situation. Undoubtedly martial law cramps the style of the civil disobedience

movement outside Karachi, and the Premier has also lent his support to the agitation to exclude Hyderabad and Sukkur towns from the martial law area. There is however no reason for thinking that the bulk of the population of these towns finds the martial law regulations unduly restrictive of their liberties.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The governor in his letter to the viceroy acknowledged that the military and other forces were not capable of restricting the ravages of the Hurs. Following is a report.

Government House Karachi
25th November 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The depredations of the Hurs and other dacoits in spite of the large military forces that are out against them are beginning to me excite some comment. I have written to you separately about this, and am at present Richardson's reactions to my last letter.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

C.B.B. Clee in his report to Conran Smith stated that ther was hearsay that the Pir would be shifted to Sindh for trial.

Government of Sindh
4 December 1942

Dear Conran Smith

Extensive operations for the rounding up of wanted Hurs continue in Martial law area and number of arrests have been made during the fortnight four offences of dacoity and murder in which Hurs were involved have taken place in the area during the same period.

Many rumours are afloat regarding the Pir and it is being freely stated that he will be brought up to trial.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

The governor went to Sukkur and watched the situation; he got a mixed reaction in favour and against the martial law.

Government House Karachi
12 December 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow
I have been for a week's tour to Sukkur, where I had some opportunity of making a local appreciation of the flood situation and of the martial law administration.

The martial law administration is by no means unpopular except with the extreme political element and the fairness and moderation of the military courts is generally recognised. Serious crime is no more than normal, and there seems to be no apprehension either on the part of officials or of leading Zamindars that, so far as this district is concerned, the early removal of the martial law would result in a serious recrudescence of Hur outrages.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The government was in confused state over the arrest of Pir Pagaro and the Hur reprisals. They had to think about its many repercussions. In the end, two options were considered:

1. The Pir would be sent out of the subcontinent in the islands of Andaman.

2. His trial would be held in a summary military court, which would pronounce a death sentence on him.

In the same report, the governor narrated the death sentence of Hemo Kalani, a young freedom fighter who was arrested by the police near the railway track beside Sukkur. He was tried in court for dismantling the railway track with the intent of derailing a train. The court handed

down a death sentence. This young Sindhi sacrificed his life for his motherland. He was put on the gallows. The governor was convinced that by sparing Kalani's life and giving him a lighter sentence, the Sindhi Hindu community would not be sufficiently restrained and dissuaded from any future involvement in radical activities.

Government House Karachi
21 January 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I have had a lengthy conference with Richardson on problems arising out of the Pir Pagaro' s return to Sindh, and about this. I will write to you separately. The death sentence passed on the young Hindu who was caught red-handed damaging the railway track has brought the whole Hindu community here up with some thing of a jerk, which was much needed. Undoubtedly, there has been a tendency in the press to treat serious crimes of sabotages, if committed by young educated Hindus, as little more than peccadilloes due to high spirits. Long sentences of imprisonment have little effect on this attitude, because of the general feeling that when things settle down, by-gones and these sentences will be enviably remitted. I feel fairly confident that the death of this young man will definitely mark the complete abstention from his class of crime of all other men of his community in Sindh.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

It was clear that British government had decided to eliminate the Pir from the scene. For that purpose, it created a kangaroo court.

In the meantime, the government arranged the Pir's return to Sindh from Central India. Fearing an ambush by the Pir's followers was imminent, the administration tightened security arrangements. On 5 January 1942, the Pir was transported by air to Sindh. Wisal Mohammed Khan has narrated the arrival of the Pir as under:

One day I was asked to meet the Deputy Force Commander at 2.30 p.m. at the Hyderabad landing ground. This order was rather queer; therefore I started wondering as to what the game was. However, on arrival at the destination 1 found that Brig. Langlands and Freddie Young were already there to receive the Pir Pagaro who was being flown from the Central Jail, Nagpur. After a few minutes the dignitary arrived, and was moved to Hyderabad Jail in a covered wagon, heavily escorted.

Farcical Trial - An Execution in Waiting

The court started its proceedings in February 1942 at Hyderabad prison.

The judge was G.O.C and martial law administrator. This was a very unusual example and precedent in modern Roman law that at the same time a person was vested with two authorities, namely, as an administrator and a Judge. The Trial was a farce and no more than a face-saving exercise because the British had already made up its mind on what to do with the Pir. Pir Sahib wanted to engage Mohammed Ali Jinnah as his defence counsel. Jinnah was his defence counsel in the 1930 illegal arms case. Pir Pagaro conveyed the message to Jinnah through Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, but this time Jinnah refused to represent the Pir.

G.M. Sayed wanted to challenge the martial law in the chief court of the province. He made two attempts to persuade Jinnah during party meetings but Jinnah cold-shouldered both the requests. That was the best time for Sayed to support the Hur movement in a legal way, because that challenges to imposition of the martial law would show that the movement was not just restricted to the Hurs alone. But the political groups who wanted to emancipate the people of Sindh from the British could also be counted in the movement as supporters of Pir Pagaro's cause:

Perhaps if Sayed had challenged the imposition of martial law in the provincial chief court, it would have infused new life in the movement. Such a legal challenge to British authority may well have induced the court to place certain restrictions on the administration's authority or even

curtails its powers. In that case, the administration would not have been able to act so ruthlessly against the followers of the Pir.

The case started in a special military court and Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pagaro was charged with treason against the Crown. The government did not allow Pir Pagaro to meet frequently with his lawyer, defence witnesses and family. However, the counsel of the Pir, Dialmal Lalwani fought the case judiciously. If the case had been decided on merit, the maximum penalty of death sentence would certainly not have been given. But then, what could be expected from a person with a military background who had donned a judge's robes? His eligibility and merit to be a judge in such a high-profile case was in serious doubt.

Either out of ambition or enmity, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi became the principal supporter of the administration against the Pir. He recommended measures that could be taken to soften the disciples of the Pir and lure them into becoming prosecution witness. The administration profited from his advice. Several followers of the Pir from the elite class and down to the grassroots-level were coaxed into helping the administration. In several cases, the government used dossiers containing personal information to force people to testify against the Pir.

Many witnesses requested the government to put curtains between themselves and the Pir when they took the stand as witnesses. The witnesses felt at ease with a curtain separating them and their accuser. The government obliged them and installed a set of curtains in the courtroom.

Earlier the British-led forces captured Waryam Khaskeli a commander of the Hur militia. The administration put pressure on Waryam Khaskeli to give

evidence against the Pir. Waryam agreed but only on the condition that the curtains be removed. The government presented Waryam in the summary military court after taking down the curtains As soon as Waryam saw the Pir, he rushed to his side and touched his feet. "My mentor, I will sacrifice for you not one but many lives and I will not betray you," he told the Pir. He also refused to give evidence against the Pir. For his recalcitrance, the administration put Waryam on the gallows.

While in court, the Pir pleaded for a Muslim lawyer and a Muslim military officer as a member of the summary military court, but Major General Richardson, the chief of the trial bench, turned down both the requests.

Dialmal submitted his legal opinion in the court in defence of the Pir. He also sent a copy to H.T. Lambrick.

To,
H.T. Lambrick Esquire
ICS
Civil Advisor

Sir,

I respectfully beg to state as under.

I crave permission to urge on you the necessity of giving serious consideration to it.

I invite your attention to my letter dated 22nd January addressed to the Convenor Martial Law Court and the reply dated 25th January sent by him.

In the defence of Pir one of the strings to the law is that he is in no way responsible for the misdeeds alleged to have been done by the Hurs. The Hurs assuming for the sake of argument that they have done anything-rose up to a man because the Government Officers disrespected the Pir's family, made a search of the Ganang Bungalow, burnt the hedge of the Ganang Bungalow, removed the ladies from a sequestered place to the Bunder Road Karachi (never in the History of the Pirs have these ladies been lodged in such a fashion) and

destroyed the Ganang Bungalow and below up the Pir's Head Quarters in his village. In other words it will be urged by me that the Hurs became rebels not because the Pir wanted to be a King but only because acts of sacrilege were committed by Government servants, acts that according to the notions, ideas and beliefs of the Hurs were such that their religious allegiance to the Pir and to their God demanded of them to do, if they ever would attend salvation.

Relevant to this is a reference to the two communications referred to above. The Convenor has characterised my requests Nos. 9 and 10 as irrelevant. I respectfully join issue with him. I want to show by the documents referred to in my request No. 10 that the burning of the hedge was considered such a serious thing as called for immediate transfer of District Superintendent police from these papers I will collect the names of witnesses to give direct evidence of fact relevant as cause, effect, preparation motive, elucidating the activities of the Hurs as absolutely independent of any conspiracy on the part of the Pir to wage the war against the KING. Here I would respectfully refer you to my request. I want to know the names of Hindus & Muslimans and the Ministers and I want to call them to give evidence in consonance with that they have actually stated on the occasion in question.

Allied to the above line of defence is the fact that the Nawabshah police started a number of false cases against the Murids of the Pir. This is another reason, which contributed to the rising of the Hurs. It is note worthy (vide request No. 20) that the accused persons had been surrendered by the Pir and the Crown Prosecutor made a report that the cases were false. He had proposed withdrawal of these cases.

Obviously the Judicial and police record of these cases will be relevant for the purpose of showing that the Hurs were being unbearably harassed by the police round about Ganang Bungalow, which was subsequently desecrated. I submit that the authorities might not have ruled this out as irrelevant. Again I say that "the enrolment of Gazi business" is a fictitious propaganda brought into vogue by the following persons.

The Pir of Bharchundi - Because I was responsible for the conviction of Janu Jalbani on account of the murder of Bhaghat Kanwar. My alleged Co-conspirator Mohbat Behan was a witness against Janu, so was my Khalifa. I wrote to the Governor that Pir of Bharchundi should be arrested and that the Muslim League Ministry would not incarcerate him. 1 accused him of causing the murder of Pamnani. All this is in writing.

The Muslim League --- Because I refused to join them in the Manzilgah agitation I got Ahmed Shah & Fateh Ali Shah and others externed from my village. No Hindu was molested in my village.

Ghulam Rasul Shah and his friend Ahsan Ali ---- Because Ahsan Ali had a land dispute with me. Government decided it in my favour.

Mr. Rashdi the Muslim Leaguer and the Editor of Muslim Voice ----- Because I hold decrees against him. His father and he are my debtors. The execution proceedings were pending against him. The debts extend to thousands of rupees. In view of what is stated above my requests Nos. 13 and 22 may not be considered as irrelevant & vague.

I respectfully submit and my defence I am very grudgingly disclosing, that beyond the oral evidence of witnesses of questionable credibility there would be left little material to make out a case of waging war if I can successfully introduce circumstances, which would explain the reason why so much propaganda was spread against me by opportunists who had to wipe off old scores with me. There would be Hur menace but I am entitled to show that I have nothing to do with it at all. I shall trace the course of the history of incidents to show that on former occasions during the lifetime of my ancestors the Hurs behaved in much the same way as they have done now, and yet there was no question of any of those Pirs trying to become Kings of Sindh. For this I should need Government record and books of references in the Commissioner's library which I have not yet asked for. I will also establish that the burying of silver is nothing new or surprising in my mode of life and this I will do by producing evidence of a former occasion when Government got the

Dargah land ploughed and secured lacs of rupees from the bowels of the earth.

There was no question of waging War then still Sir my request No. 24 has been turned down as irrelevant.

I will submit very humbly that I should get great assistance in the preparation of the defence of a case, which in its importance and nature is of an unparalleled magnitude. As a citizen I pray that the decision in this case will be of far reaching effects. I beg of you to appreciate that the genesis of a Hur, his temperament, his mood, his life, his belief, his prowess and his utter brutality are all admissible, relevant and important facts, which are bound to throw a flood of light on the delicate and pregnant issues, involved in this case. Incongruous as the picture may appear to be, I will make an effort to establish that this war of the Hurs is something in the nature of the old Mohammedan Wars under the Islamic banner or a sort of carrying on a crusade. In neither of these were the prophets in any way responsible. For the Hur the Pir is more than a prophet, the magnificence of the Pir and his entourage, his Darbar and his surrounding, his pomp and glory are all facts relevant to the main issues in the case. Those will explain why names are registered, why Mukhs are appointed, why Furaq is different from Salim, why a special code governs the Hur and how is it that the frantic follower stakes his all in the name of Pir. No matter how it may effect the divinity on earth. I shall have to show that whatever abnormalities appear in this case, have appeared since hundreds of years.

My assistants and I have been at this case all these 12 days and I must confess that we have not yet been able to prepare the defence satisfactorily.

My request No. 26 has been turned down as vague, I think if a Deputy Superintendent like Mr. Inyat Ali or Charangilal is given the description of the man he would be spotted out at once. A dark skinned tall Sub-Inspector transferred or proceeding on leave in August 1941 from Thar Parkar District is all the information that the Pir can furnish.

Referring to my request 3 & 4, you will be pleased to appreciate my difficulties. I have got to be for several hours

each day with the Pir and the files of papers and bundles are enormous. I dare not request that the same be made over to me for study at odd hours.

In conclusion I request you for your rendering me assistance, advice and guidance. This is a peculiar case, which has got to be done with. May I request you to consider the advisability of a short adjournment? Please excuse me this worry, for I have no one else to write to who knows Sindh people, Sindh conditions and the defence difficulties as well as you do. I beg to be excused by the Major General if my letter contains any expression opposed to Military discipline. I assure you that if there is discovered any flaw in my language or tone it cannot possibly be due to willfulness. This letter is for you to appeal to the General on my behalf and on behalf of an accused person. This unfortunate man can neither meet his friends and relations nor has any easy way open to him to collect funds, for his defence, all I have been appointed by the Crown Officers. He can hardly get over this.

I shall be grateful for a personal interview.

I beg to remain
Sir, Your most obedient servant
Dialmal
Advocate for Pir Pagaro
26. 1. 1943

Mr. Dialmal advocate has submitted a list of defence witnesses to the Chief Martial Law administrator.

No 11 Camp
Hyderabad Sindh

6th February 1943

To,

The Chief Martial law Administrator.

Sir, I beg to submit a list of defence witnesses in Pir Pagaro's case.

1. Sayed Ghulam Nabi Shah M.L.A. Mirpurkhas
2. Mian Wadal Shah alias Imam Bux Shah, Mirpurkhas
3. K.S. Rakhial Khan Mari

(Either the collector of Tharparkar or the collector of Nawabshah).

4. Rasool Bux Unar, Zamindar Larkana District.
5. Ghous Ali Shah s/o Moaz Ali Shah
6. Hafiz Wahid Bux Narejo
7. Fazal Rahujo
8. Yakoob s/o Haji Mangnejo
9. Moor Shah Jhibar
(all residents of Keti)
10. Chetomal Pir-jo-Goth
11. Taromal Chatomal
Mitoomal, Modi of Pir Pagaro, Pir-jo- Goth, to bring the account books of 1938 to 1940 re the dealing with Pir, the ledger entries in particular re 'Lekho" of Pir Pagaro

Dialmal Lalwani

Dialmal also submitted the list of following persons as defence witnesses:

1. Din Mohammed s/o Samoon Junejo Sindhri
2. Banko Junejo s/o Faiz Mohammed Junejo, Bakar.
3. Mohammed Hayat s/o Karim Dad Junejo, Bakar
4. Mir Khuda Bux of Tando Bagho
5. Ali Hyder Shah s/o Parial Shah, Pir jo Goth
6. Mukhi Nebhandas, Pir jo Goth
7. Malook Pahoor
8. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, M.L.A.
9. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan M.L.A.
10. Qaiser Khan Bozdar, M.L.A.

The list of prosecution witnesses.

1. K.B Mohammed Hayat s/o Karimdad Junejo, Mirpurkhas.
2. K.S. Din Mohammed s/o Somo Khan Junejo, Mirpurkhas.
3. Haji Moosa s/o Ali Mohammed Wassan, Taluka Shahdadpur District N' Shah
4. Ghulam Mohammed s/o Jan Mohammed Pali, Village Jan Mohammed Pali, Taluka Umarkot.
5. Sayed Ali Hyder Shah s/o Sayed Parial Shah, Old Sukkur.
6. Sharafuddin s/o Haji Ghulam Ali Khan Narejo, village Mohammed Waris Narejo, Mirpurkhas.

7. K.S. Ghulam Kadir Narejo s/o Mohammed Waris
Narejo, Mirpurkhas.
8. Ghulam Mohammed s/o Faiz Mohammed Aradin,
village Ghulam Mohammed Aradin, Deh 16, Taluka
Sinjhoro.
9. Ahmed Shah, Pir-jo-Goth, District Sukkur.
10. Hussain Ali Shah s/o Jial Shah, Sukkur.
11. Rahim Shah s/o Pir Shah Mardan Shah, Sukkur.
12. Sardar Khuda Bux Khan s/o Fateh Ali Khan Pittafi,
village Gullu Pittafi Taluka Mirpur Mathelo.
13. Sajjan s/o Fakir Mohammed Dao, village Miani Bagh,
Taluka Rohri.
14. Mohammed Usman s/o Mohammed Rahim Hingoro,
village Mohammed Yusif Hingoro Taluka Sinjhoro.
15. Mohammed Parial s/o Mohammed Usman Sangri,
Sukkur.
16. Piaro s/o Khawandino, Hajjam, Sukkur.
17. Mohammed Usman s/o Allah Rakhio, Sukkur.
18. Bachal s/o Pir Bux Khaskeli, Inspector Mohammed
Usman Jamali's village near Kumb Lima Taluka Sakrand.
19. Mohammed Alam s/o Taj Mohammed Mangrio, Sukkur
(does not want police guard).
20. Ramzan Mirbahar, (will live with Bachal at Mohammed
Usman Jamali's village).
21. Sono s/o Nimro, Wassan, Sanghar.
22. Kazi Wali Mohammed s/o Abdul Kadir Dharejo
Mullah, village Kambhro, Taluka Khipro.
23. Kazi Nur Mohammed s/o Mohammed Mohsin Pali,
village Mohsin Pali, Taluka Umarkot.
24. Fakir Mohammed Wahiddin Mangrio, Mirpurkhas.

Sent to Sladen with remarks re: Ali Mohammed Rashdi. 17/2

The Pir had written letters to Major General Richardson, Chief Martial Law Administrator and Judge of the summary trial court on 15.1.1943, 17.1.1943 and 18.1.1943 to allow him interview to Mir Khuda Bux Talpur and Mohammed Hayat Junejo.

The Pir also wrote letters to Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mir Khuda Bux Talpur and his three followers, Banko Junejo, Yar Mohammed Junejo and Mohammed

Hayat Junejo on 18.1.1943 for arranging funds and Mohammed Ali Jinnah as a counsel.

Major General Richardson, in his letter to Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro, turned down Pir Pagaro's request to allow him interviews with any person. However, he allowed Dialmal to meet the required persons. Regarding the need for funds, Richardson declared that money could be deposited in the account of Pir Pagaro at the Imperial Bank, Hyderabad branch.

Meanwhile the government impounded the property of Pir Pagaro. The Sindh Observer gave the following account.

> February 2nd
> **Pir Pagaro's property confiscated under Martial Law.**
> Major General R. Richardson Commander Upper Sindh Force and Chief administrator Martial Law in Upper Sindh, has issued a Special Martial Law Order declaring all that property including cash and other valuables of whatsoever nature belonging to or in the possession of Pir Sibghatullah Shah (Pir Pagaro) and situated at village Ali Mohammed Mahar, District Thar Parkar on 3rd November 1942, and situated at or near the above mentioned Pir's Bungalow at Taluka Sanghar District Tharparkar on the 6th January 1943, be held to be confiscated.

The former Governor of Sindh Sir Lancelot Graham came to Sindh and attended the summary military court as a defence witness of Pir Pagaro.

Following is a news report published in 'The Sindh Observer' about Lancelot Graham's appearance in a summary military court as defence witness of Pir Pagaro.

> **The Sindh Observer, February 19, 1943**
> **Pir Pagaro's case Ex-Governor as Defence witness.**
>
> Hyderabad, Feb 17 ... The prosecution cases against Pir Pagaro, it is reliably learnt, has been closed before the

special military bench court. About 25 witnesses have been summoned as def .ce witnesses on behalf of Pir Pagaro, prominent amongst .hem being Sir Lancelot Graham, ex-Governor of Sindh. Hon. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hiddayatullah, the Premier, Hon. K.B. Khuhro, Hon. Mr. Gazdar, Sardar Bahadur Nawab Jam Jan Mohammed Khan M.L.A., Sardar Bahadur Nawab Kanbho Khan, M.L.A. Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah, M.L.A. Nawab Mir Allahdad Khan, M.L.A. Seth Parsram of Sukkur, three Mukhis of villages and others. Sir Lancelot Graham is stated to have come down today for his evidence. It appears that Pir Pagaro had long talks with him when he was the Governor of Sindh and the former had contributed a good amount for the War fund. Pir Pagaro is therefore likely to show that he was a loyal subject and he had, as such, no intention of waging war against the King Emperor. The Dream or prophecy attributed about him that he would become the King of Sindh was palpably false, if not atrocious.

The defence is expected to be over within this week or so. Judgement in the case, is however, expected to be promulgated by the Martial Law authorities. It promises to be a sensational one as it is bound to throw considerable light upon the history of the sins of commission and omission of Pir Pagaro.

In his letter to the viceroy, Governor Hugh Dow reported on the suppression of the Hurs. He also made comments on the position of the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain, two ministers Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mohammed Hashim Gazdar, and the former governor of Sindh Lancelot Graham as defence witnesses in the trial.

In the same report, he shared his opinion about the Pir's successor. Several persons became candidates of the Gadi during the trial of the Pir; foremost was Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi. He wrote several letters to the British administration claiming he was more suitable for the throne as he had always been loyal to the British crown. The British administration did not appear to take his claims

seriously and instead regarded the Pir's eldest son as the real successor of the Pag. Following is a report.

Government House Karachi
22nd February 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Many of the Hur leaders have been recently captured or otherwise disposed of, and it looks as if the backbone of the resistance is broken. Richardson is satisfied with the way the Pir's trial is proceeding. I gather that the Pir's examination of my premier and of my two ministers (Khuhro and Gazdar), as defence witnesses was almost perfunctory. My predecessor, Graham, has also been staying with me for the last week, having been summoned by the Pir as a defence witness: his evidence was also over in an hour and, although naturally I have not displayed any curiosity on the subject, I understand that nothing very material was elicited. A good deal of activity is being shown by various candidates for the 'Pag' should it come vacant, and this matter will want swift and careful handling. I have again reviewed this matter with Sir Ghulam Hussain and the Home Minister as the result of representation received from Richardson, and as a result of this we hold to the decision that the 'Pag' should go to the Pir's eldest son.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Linlithgow in his letter to Governor Hugh Dow was very much optimistic about the trial's quick disposal along with the Pir's elimination from the scene. Following is a report.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
4th March 1943

Dear Hugh Dow

I understand that the Pir's trial has by now been concluded and that the sentence is likely to be promulgated shortly. I have not yet heard when the troops will be withdrawn but the morale of your services in the areas affected must be high and the time should be a suitable one for tightening up the

administration in all its branches. I should be interested to hear whether it has been possible to do any thing on those lines.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi again implored the governor to declare him Pir Pagaro. At an interview he was granted with the governor he made one final pitch for the post. The governor informed the viceroy about Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi's ambition and briefed him about his personality as well. Following is a report.

Government House Karachi
5th March 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The fact that the succession to the 'Gadi' of the Pir Pagaro is being much canvassed may be taken to show a general appreciation and acceptance of what is expected to be the present Pir's fate. The principal intriguer is one of the Pir's relations who were himself more responsible than any other individual for the agitation, which led to the Sukkur riots of a few years ago, and is a needy adventurer hoping to get some thing out of the wreck for himself. I am giving him an interview tomorrow and hope to be able to bring him to a proper realisation of the danger of his agitation.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi also wrote several letters to the British administration to nominate him as Pir Pagaro. Following is a letter of Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi to the governor.

Muslim Voice,
Ram Bagh Road, Karachi

31st January 1943

Confidential
May it please your Excellency?

In continuation of my humble representation of the 22nd January, I submit that I have since looked into the ruling relating to the Declaratory Suit, Regarding the Gadi of Pir Pagaro, between the father of the present Pir and his brother.

I beg to submit herewith a note thereon, which deals with the legal and customary aspects of the matter.

Next there are a few points which I feel compelled to touch here hoping, as I do, that they would receive sympathetic consideration at your Excellency's hands:

1. My submission is that the question of succession does not deserve to be tackled on any footing other than the one on which the question of the removal of the present Pir has been tackled. I mean it should be tackled on political footing and looked at from the standpoint of Administration and high public policy. The Pir's matter, which had great significance both from War, Military and High Imperial standpoint, has been dealt with as such. It has been regarded as an open rebellion against H.M. the King Emperor. There has been Martial Law for eight months and a large number of troops have been engaged in suppressing it. To try the Pir special regulations have been promulgated. Now, having disposed of the question of the present occupant of the Gadi in that manner it would, in my humble judgement, not be advisable to get back, abruptly, into the day to day civil and local mood while deciding the question of the next occupant of that Gadi. The removal of an undesirable Pir and his substitution by a desirable one constitute but one single question and it does seem to me desirable or wise that there should be any change of mood or policy, of method or procedure, till both the parts of that one single problem are satisfactorily dealt with. It was for certain higher considerations that His Majesty's Government helped Iran to get the best Ruler and Iraq to have the best Regent. The expulsion of Reza Shah or Rashid Ali was not their only concern but they have naturally saw to it that they were succeeded by right kind of men and till both those objectives were achieved British help to the peoples of those countries continued. Obviously, it would have served no useful purpose if they had only removed undesirable and then suddenly withdrawn leaving the rest to the Devil to manipulate. On this analogy, I submit that the Government,

after the removal of the present Pir, should play the major role in the selection and installation of his successor and all possible assistance should be extended to the person whom they consider fit to have the Gadi. Of course, before that step is taken the government can naturally take steps to satisfy themselves that the man is eligible for it and possesses the requisite qualifications including the ability to command substantial following from among the Jamait and Brotherhood. But once that is done the Government should help that man, fully and firmly, to enable him to come into his own, particularly because he is being put into that position under abnormal conditions in the creation of which he has had no hand. While I say so I naturally, presume that the Government choice will not fall on persons who have been a party to the present Pir's activities, in one form or the other, and at one time or the other.

While I put forth this claim I do not mean to suggest that, so far as I am concerned, minus this procedure, I have no other chances or qualifications to occupy the Gadi. I think I have already made it sufficiently clear in my last representation that if the Pir and his two sons are excluded I stand better chances of securing a reasonable measure of support from the Jamait brotherhood and the Moslem community, in the first instance, and of enlisting and commanding complete support and following in due course of time. This state of affairs will not constitute anything unique in the annals of this Dargah; almost on every previous occasion of succession also one or the other section of the Jamait -- that helped the defeated candidate has stood apart but later on, when the things have returned to normal, it has gone back to the successful Pir.
To sum up, my humble submission is:

(a) That the largest part in the matter of succession should be played by Government themselves, on the ground that it has certain responsibilities placed on its shoulders on behalf of the society and the general mass of the citizens of Sindh;

(b) That in orders to determine as to who would be the best person for the purpose the Government can institute a summary inquiry into the relative merits and fitness of the various eligible persons and decide in favour of one them;

(C) That barring the p esent Pir and his two sons I have the best chances of securing following and satisfying the customary and administrative conditions:

(D) That before I announce my candidature or discuss the problem with the Jamait I would like to know as to how I stand in relation to Government. (I have already made it clear in my last representation that unless I am convinced of the fact that the Government has no objection to my being selected I shall not at all come in the field).

It is endless to point out that ever since the annexation of Sindh the British administration have always been having major voice in the matter of succession, relating to this Dargah, whenever any occasion of the kind has risen in the past. The very fact that the previous disputes over succession were referred to the British machinery of justice indicates that so far this Dargah is concerned the government does not constitute a 'forbidden fruit' I can cite numerous instances from the family as well as Government records to prove this point.

2. In my last representation I have submitted:

(v) Whatever may have been my political leanings in the past, it is obvious that I have never been disloyal to my King or joined any anti-British or subversive movements, in spite of the wide fields for popularity they offered to intellectuals from among the Moslems. If I had had loose views on the matter I would have long ago fallen prey to inducements just as those that have led our former premier astray. It is noteworthy that I have never received any patronage or special favours at the hands of his Majesty's representatives here and yet I have, throughout my public career, observed one fundamental point namely that I am to be loyal to my king and the British. Human beings are liable to err but no error of mine can could this one central feature of my life.

This point I propose to further elucidate here. As I have submitted before the most outstanding features of my public career have been.

(i) Loyalty to the King; and
(ii) Not part in any anti-British or subversive movement.

In provincial politics, indeed, I have on occasions played a certain part, some times even vital part, and while so doing I did, I admit make many mistakes, particularly in the choice of men or methods. But those were bona fide mistakes of an honest beginner. Autonomy was essentially a revolutionary innovation. A beginner like me had to gain some experience before he could adjust himself to the new situation. Like many others I found myself in the position of bewildered child suddenly shove into a Museum, now leaping at this curio, now going to the other exhibit.

As it is inevitable concomitant the parliamentary form of Government gave rise to party-consciousness. In the selection of a party my throughout had been to judge men by certain standards. If I parted company with them it was only when experience showed that they did not come up to those standards. I am confidant, and venture to prophesize, that at the end of your Excellency's terms of office your Excellency also will arrive at the same conclusion in respect of the present day Sindh politicians. However, I have had no axe of my own to grind. Throughout these six years I have never coveted any job, or office, or distinction. I submit an uncommon achievement in this case of this province.

Notwithstanding all this I might assure Your Excellency that if I am selected I shall be completely out of political picture unless I am desired by his Majesty's Government (as distinct from the provincial ministerial administrative arrangement) to full the gap left by Sir Sikander in the higher field. After all, a Pir Pagaro of my experience and vision will never stoop so low as to interfere in dirty provincial politics of which I have already had a bitter dose.

Lastly, I would only submit that even from political stand point I would be a safer person than any impervious to political forces of any kind, the others cannot. They have neither experience nor sufficient stamina. They will be tools in the hands of corrupt ministers and thus become a menace once again.

I beg to subscribe myself,
Your Excellency's humble and loyal servant
Ali Mohammed Rashdi

Rashdi did not achieve his goal because the English administration and the Sindh government viewed his claims as hollow. Still he was rewarded with tracts of agricultural land and some nominal benefits.

The trial came to a close in the first week of March 1943 and the summary military court's judge, Richardson, announced death sentence to Pir Pagaro. Wisal Mohammed Khan, as an eyewitness, narrated the case as under:

> During the preparatory phase of the trial, the prosecution witnesses were lodged in a barrack and tutored by Samuel Ghani, D.S.P. On receipt of the said information I took the law in my own hands and paid an unauthorised surprise visit to the prohibited area and caught the culprit red handed in the performance of the shameful act. Being young and inexperienced, I could not imagine any one stooping so low, hence I reported the matter to Brig. Langsland, the Deputy Force Commander. I was horrified to realise that the said report fell on deaf ears.
>
> The events narrated above created considerable confusion in my head and therefore, out of sheer curiosity; I attended the proceedings of the Military Court on the first day for a couple hours. However, I soon got bored with the mock trial and stayed away as the trial was beyond my jurisdiction. The little information I gained during my stay in the court is being reduced to writing as it may be of some interest to people closely connected with the late Pir. A diagram of the court is produced from my memory.

General Court Martial

4 2 1 3 5

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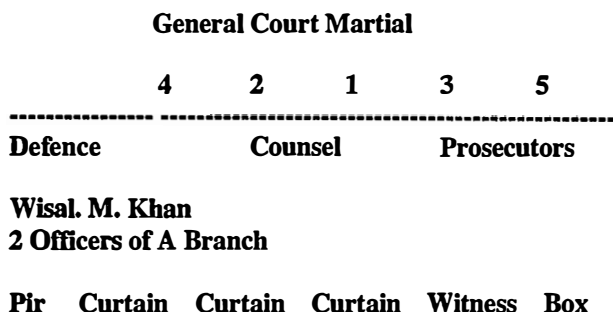
Defence Counsel Prosecutors

Wisal. M. Khan
2 Officers of A Branch

Pir Curtain Curtain Curtain Witness Box

Charges:

1. Conspiring and preparing to wage a war against the Govèrnment.

2. Abetment of waging war.

As it was generally believed that the witness were likely to turn hostile if they either saw the Pir or heard his voice, therefore, adequate measures were taken to ensure that nothing went wrong. During my stay in the court the Pir passed written instructions to the defence counsel and never spoke to him. The proceedings of the court, started in the usual manner and the Pir raised the following objections, through his counsel:

(a) Is there not a single Muslim Army Officer in India, to sit as a member of this court? I expect no justice from an all-British court. If the intention is to hang me, then do so without a mock trial.

(b) Why thrust a Hindu advocate on me? Isn't there a single Muslim Advocate in India, for my defence?

The President of the court overruled the objections on the plea that:

(a) The members of the court are impartial and would therefore render full justice in the case:

(b) The best local advocate has been engaged for the defence, so as to ensure the best-available legal assistance for the accused.

The Pir was cut up with the ruling of the court and stated, through his counsel that the obvious intention of the government is to execute him, therefore; the needful should be done without going through the tyranny of a mock trial. The objection was overruled. When questioned by the court whether he pleaded guilty to the charges framed against him or not, the Pir stated that as he was not in a position either to conspire or make preparation for waging a war against the government, the charges are malignant and fabricated. The

> president of the court then ordered the prosecutor to proceed with the case.
>
> At this stage, I was somewhat perplexed as certain questions were intriguing my mind. It was due to this state of my mind that most of the time I concentrated on the observation of the Pir who appeared to me just like a lion in the cage. To state frankly I have come across quite a few Pirs but none of his calibre. He was extremely intelligent with dominating personality and had a good knowledge of the criminal procedure code. To the best of my knowledge, throughout the trial, he had been issuing written instructions to his defence counsel. However, as anticipated by him, all his efforts to save himself failed to have any effect, and the finding of the court was guilty and the sentence death by hanging.
>
> On 20th March 1943, at the age of 34 years, he was executed and buried in an island of the Persian Gulf. Just before his execution, the only statement he is alleged to have made is that he was sorry for having committed the sin of indulgence in heavy smoking. The said statement clearly indicates that the Pir considered himself innocent.

The next contentious issue concerned the body of the executed Pir. There was debate on whether the body should be handed over to relatives, friends and followers or he buried in an unknown place. The British administration perceived the act of burying the Pir in a known place as fraught with danger for that would incite his disciples and give rises to another possible insurrection. The British feared that the Hurs would somehow be re-energised, once they congregated at the gravesite of their demigod. Upon touching the grave, the disciples were liable to take an oath to avenge the Pir's death.

To save them from such an eventuality, the British administration decided to bury the Pir at an unknown location. Even the Government of Sindh was kept in the dark about the Pir's final resting-place.

On 20th March 1943, the Pir was put on the gallows. Members of the Pagaro family were not allowed to view the corpse of their beloved elder but a few disciples who were in the good books of the government were shown the body.

This brave son of Sindh showed that his commitment with the motherland was unwavering--right up to his last breath when he stood up to his 'liberty-or-death' motto. While still in the spring of his youth he offered his life for a noble cause.

The great mystic Shah Latif wrote the following memorable lines for those blessed with courage:

"Horses and bridegrooms have few days to live,
Sometimes they in palaces lodge, sometimes in deserts dwell.

In another verse, Shah Latif shed light on the character of the brave. They don't take too kindly to taunts. To be enslaved is a great insult for a nation, for removing this censure the Pir offered his life.

In both word and deed, Pir Pagaro lived the philosophy of Shah Abdul Latif to the fullest.
Shah Latif says:

T's well that you die on battlefield. I for you weep,
Taunts are uttered for long, while life is brief.

Pir Pagaro forfeited his life for a noble cause. He upheld the dignity of his ancestors' "Pag". In the strictest sense, the turban is a protective, headgear that is usually worn to save one from extreme temperatures. But it has other connotations as well. For centuries tribal communities have chosen their chieftains from among them and placed a turban on their head as a mark of respect for them. From

the day it is donned, the chieftain is seen as protector, helper and saviour of the honour and respect of the community. Yet several chieftains express their disdain for the turban. But the Pir was clearly not among those. Like some illustrious chiefs, he chose death over dishonour and sacrificed all for the sake of his nation. Shah Latif pays tribute to such individuals in the following verse:

The Imam Hussain had, as if fastened four swords
round his waist and two turbans on his head,
The heroic Imam duly maintained the valorous
precedents of his elders in the combat.

Pir Sibghatullah, as a descendent of Hazrat Imam Hussain, saw no impediment to following the way of Imam Hussain. He gave up his life but did not compromise with the British.

The governor in his report to the viceroy narrated the trial and execution of the sentence as under:

Government House Karachi
23 March 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Pir Pagaro trial has been concluded: he has been condemned to death and was executed on the 20th instant. So far there have been no unfavourable reactions: the public seem to have taken it for granted that the Pir ought to be executed, and it was widely believed that the sentence had been carried into effect many days before it actually was. I am writing to you separately at some length about the present state of the Hur problem, but I may here answer briefly the question which you put to me at the end of your letter of the 4th March, whether as a result of martial law some thing can be done to tighten up the administration in all branches.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Linlithgow in his letter to Hugh Dow expressed surprise at the silence of the Hurs over the Pir's death by execution. Of course, subsequent events would show that the observation was a little premature. Soon enough the Hurs mounted guerrilla attacks on colonial outposts with renewed fury. The viceroy appeared to draw some satisfaction from the fact that the Pir accepted his fate with dignity and showed sound practical judgement over the issue of his successor. Following is a letter from Lord Linlithgow to Dow.

Viceroys House New Delhi
1st April 1943

My Dear Dow

I am most agreeably surprised at the apparent absence of any reaction that matters to the death of the Pir Pagaro. I had always rather feared that his execution would be followed by local disturbances or by his displays of tense feeling in interested areas in Sindh. But these seem to have been none of that, and your Minister Mr. Wadhwani with whom I had a talk a few days ago, told me that even on the morning of the execution there was no sign of any particular excitement. I have just had your valuable telegram about the succession and must now think that over. I gather that the Pir behaved with dignity at the time of his execution, and he certainly seems to have behaved with commonsense and detachment in dealing with issues such as the succession to himself before his death.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Hurs' War of Attrition Continues

Somewhat hastily Dow wrote a letter to Lord Linlithgow announcing that there was no reaction by the Hurs on the execution of their mentor. At the same time, he informed him about a report that he had received from the administration. The Pir of Bharchundi was alarmed by the events unfolding in Jaisalmer. The Hurs were assembling there in large numbers and insiders anticipated an attack on the town of Rohri. But the governor remained skeptical about the information.

Following is a report and also an address of the governor to Chamber of the Commerce Karachi, in which he narrated his version about the martial law and the Hur movement.

Government House Karachi
7 April 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

There have so far been no serious reactions to the death of Pir Pagaro. The collector of Sukkur has passed on information to Richardson, received from a rival Pir of Bharchundi, that a large band of Hurs is massing in Jaisalmer to avenge the Pir's death by an attack on Rohari, but this is unlikely to be true ... 1 am therefore taking advantage of a speech, which I have to make at the Karachi Chamber of Commerce today to make a reassuring statement, a copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Extract from H.E.'s speech at the A.G.M. of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

As regards the removal of Martial law, for which agitation has started in certain quarters, 1 should like to make it clear that neither the civil nor the military authorities wish it to continue a day longer than is necessary, but that both intend that it shall last as long as it is necessary. Now when martial law is raised, does the civil government intend that there shall be any relapse into the conditions, which made its imposition necessary. Troops in aid of the civil powers will still be stationed within the area; the newly raised battalion of the Sindh police rifles will be kept on duty there and every endeavour will be made to bring it to a high pitch of efficiency: The present martial law regulations will as far as possible be duplicated by notifications under the Defence of India Rules, and a special Commissioner will be placed in charge of law and order and all other matters relating to the Hurs. And as existing restrictions are progressively relaxed, we shall have in mind the convenience and well being of the law-abiding population and certainly not the clamour of those who find them an irksome handicap in the pursuit of their subversive activities.

Lord Linlithgow in his reply thanked Dow for sharing the information.

Viceroy House New Delhi
15th April 1943

My Dear Dow,

Thank you for the extract from your speech about the removal of Martial Law. I agree with you entirely as to the necessity of doing everything possible to prevent reprisals being taken by the Pir's followers on persons who have coopted with the Martial Law administration.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

In the first half of April, the chief secretary of Sindh sent a report to Conran Smith. He informed the viceroy about the property of Pir Pagaro, which the Pir had left with reliable landlords. In the same report, C.B.B. Clee informed him about the arrest of Hur fighter Luqman Rajar.

Government House Karachi
Dear Conran Smith,

Law and order:

There is suggestion that some members of the public do not believe that the Pir Pagaro is dead. On April 1st certain Zamindars handed over to Chief Administrator of Martial law the sum of four lacs of rupees in notes. This property had been entrusted them by the Pir Pagaro for safe custody.

On April 7th three buried chests were dug up. Thcy contained 43 rifle butts and 54 barrels and 15 revolvers and pistols. All were carefully preserved in 5 grease. In another place a quantity of ornaments and currency of the value about Rs. 20,000 were discovered. Another Hur absconder, Lukman Rajar, has been arrested.

No trace has yet been found of Shivalomal.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

Lord Linlithgow informed Dow on the ways H.T. Lambrick could be compensated for his duty.

Viceroy House New Delhi
15th May 1943

(Acknowledges letter of 5th May)

Dear Hugh Dow,

I am writing to you separately about the very difficult question of indemnifying Lambrick for his acts during April and May 1942.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In a letter to Dow, the viceroy made comments on the murder of Allah Bux Soomro.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
June 1st 1943

My Dear Dow

Many thanks for your D.O. No. 163-F.R. of the 24th of May

and for your letter of the 25th of May commenting further on the Allah Bux case. I hope your ministers are not disturbed at the suggestion that his murderer was a Hur. It will be a serious matter if the aftermath of the Hur trouble produces a number of murders of retribution of persons concerned in putting down the rising.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Dow in a report to Lord Linlithgow made observations on the policy of the Hindu press regarding the convictions of the Hurs and Congress workers.

Government House Karachi
3rd June 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Withdrawal of the Martial law has been taken quietly. The Hindu press is urging an immediate review and scaling down sentences that have been inflicted. But the Minister of the is well aware that this is not due to any sympathy with the wretched Hurs, but to a hope that the few Congress Fire bands whom the Martial law authorities extinguished may be re-lit.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Linlithgow penned down another letter to Dow regarding the removal of martial law.

Viceroy's camp, Simla
15th June 1943

My Dear Dow
It is good to hear that the withdrawal of Martial Law has been taken quietly and that Gazdar is behaving so well.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

Mattu Khaskeli, a Hur fighter who derailed the Lahore Mail, was arrested on a tip-off from a police stool pigeon. Following is a report from Sladen to Conran Smith.

Government of Sindh
5th July 1943

Dear Conran Smith,

The most important remaining Hur absconder, Mattu Khaskeli, was arrested on June 19th in the Makhi area. Information had been received that a certain fishermen who used to fish in the Makhi lakes and had been given 100 rupees by Mattu for the purchase of clothes and food, but the fisherman had cheated Mattu by pocketing his money and not supplying the goods. Mattu had subsequently threatened one of the Patels of the fishermen and made him promise to recover the money. However the promise had not yet been fulfilled. This affair was used by a police agent, who was familiar with Mattu, to entice Mattu to a supposed meeting with the Patel of the fishermen. However, at the meeting place 4 stout Policemen were hidden in the reeds and they succeeded in overpowering Mattu and his companion, who were both carrying guns, after a short struggle. Mattu was the leader of the gang of Hurs who wrecked the Lahore Mail in May 1942 and murdered many of the passengers in cold blood.

Yours sincerely
J. M. Sladen

Dow in a letter to Linlithgow was satisfied with the crackdown of the Hur guerillas. Also, he was pleased with the work of the Sindh Police Rifles.

Government House Karachi
19th August 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The Hur resistance is definitely broken, and the programme for the recall of the remaining troops is being safely accelerated. The new Sindh Police Rifles are shaping well, and have been encouraged by successful captures of some notable brigands; the corps has recently been inspected by the area commander, who tells me he was very favourably impressed.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Linlithgow in a letter to Dow appeared to be satisfied with the work of the Sindh Police Rifles.

Government of Sindh
6th September 1943

My Dear Dow

I am glad to hear that there is not much political activity at the moment and it is particularly good news that the Sindh Police Rifles-are shaping well.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

In a letter to Lord Linlithgow, Dow admitted that the attacks of the Hurs had not died down.

Government House Karachi
6th October 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The murder of Ali Mohammed Mahar is a serious Hur outrage of the usual kind, and shows that we are not yet out of the wood. I understand that Lambrick has cancelled the bail-bonds of some forty Hurs who had been recently released and recommitted them to jail, but none of the actual gang have yet been traced.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

A clash between government forces and the Hurs took place in a desert area. In the same report, the governor addressing to Darbar announced to abrogate the Gadi of Pir Pagaro. Following is a letter from Sladen to Tottenham.

Government of Sindh
3rd December 1943

Dear Tottenham,

On November 16 a patrol of the Sindh Police Rifles working in the desert area east of the Nara made contact with

a party of Hur absconders about 18 strong, most of whom were armed with guns or rifles. Fire was opened by both sides and continued for some time, both parties becoming scattered. The final result was that 4 Hurs were killed and the rest escaped. Some guns and ammunition were captured. The Hur leader Ali Sher, was found to have received ten bullet wounds in a duel with a Lance Naik of the patrol, before he was killed by a shot through the head. Just before the incident the patrol had found the body of a police informer lying in the desert, who had been murdered by the Hurs.

In the same report the note of J.M. Sladen about the governor's tour of Hyderabad.

Reports show that three or two gangs of Hur absconders still in existence and several offences have recently been committed by them. It is clear that there must be no relaxation yet of government's efforts to complete the suppression of the Hurs. His Excellency the governor has· been on tour in Hyderabad District during the fortnight. On November 17 he inspected the Hyderabad Police and the Sindh Police Rifles on parade in Hyderabad. In the course of his Darbar speech, he announced that the government of Sindh has decided to abolish the Gadi of Pir Pagaro and would not permit anyone to occupy it. This announcement conveyed a decision, which seems to have generally been expected.

Yours sincerely
J.M. Sladen

Lord Wavell thanked Hugh Dow for his information about the management of Pir Pagaro's Dargah. Following is a report.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
30 December 1943.

My Dear Dow,

Many thanks for your letter of December the 15th giving me information about the arrangements for the management of the Pir Pagaro's Dargah at Pir-jo-Goth, and for your letter of

December the 20th enclosing the official report for the first half of December.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

The Viceroy was pleased that the peasants who had been affected by the fighting between Hur fighters and British administration had again started their cultivation. Following is a report.

The Viceroy's House New Delhi
31st January 1944

My Dear Dow,

I am sure the encouragement you gave to the Police will have had a good effect and they will certainly need strong support for a considerable time. I am glad to hear that the countryside in the Hur areas has now a more peaceful aspect and that labourers are coming back for cultivation.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Viceroy Lord Wavell wrote a letter to Hugh Dow about Sindh Police and the posting of the inspector general of Sindh.

Viceroy's Camp (Nagpur) India
27/29 February 1944

My Dear Dow,

I have received your letter of February 21st about the Sindh Police Force and the Police Rifles. Many thanks for this frank and most useful statement of the position. I note your opinion that Ray is the best man available for the post of Inspector General of Police.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Dow in a letter to Wavell admitted that Hur fighters did indeed pose a threat to law and order. The situation was so bad that the administration was forced to recall the troops that it had withdrawn some time ago.

Government House Karachi
19th April 1944

Dear Lord Wavell,

The Hur outrages mentioned in the official report are serious, and it may be a long time before the few remaining desperadoes are rounded up, during which time these occasional murders will take place. The motive in all these murders is revenge on those Hurs who have given help to the authorities: the question of giving these adequate protection is one of great difficulty, since past experience shows that the murderers are prepared to wait even for years to catch their victims unprepared. They are desperate men who know that capture means hanging, and are fanatics careless of their lives in the sure help of paradise. The difficulties of hunting them down lie mainly in the nature of the country aided by their highly efficient intelligence system. On this occasion, I think that the requisitioning of troops was barely justifiable under the existing rules, and the partial successes of the drive must be reckoned as largely accidental. There companies of the Ajmer regiment were out. General Hind has discussed the situation with Lambrick and with me, and we are in agreement that the troops should be recalled as soon as possible, leaving only one company of the Ajmers standing by for a week or so in the Sanghar area. Hind has also agreed to postpone for a few months the impending transfer of the battalion from Hyderabad to Malir.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

Lord Wavell in a letter to Dow acknowledged that the movement of the Hur Guerillas had continued unabated.

The Viceroy's House New Delhi
27 April, 1944

My Dear Dow

Many thanks for your letter of April the 19th covering the first half of April. The Hur outrages, which are described in

the official report are certainly serious and I agree that it may be some time before all the culprits are rounded up, but one could hardly expect that the activities of the Hurs would be entirely closed down even after the long period of suppression they have been through. I am glad you are trying to cut down the number of troops standing by.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Lord Wavell, in a subsequent letter to Dow, admitted that the Hurs were still a threat for the administration.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
16th May 1944

My Dear Dow,

The Hurs seem to be a menace still and I have written to you separately on the subject. Your police will I suppose be much interested in the Punjab's proposal to increase the pay of their constables about which you have received official information from Home Department. I wonder whether you will feel compelled to follow it.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

The Hur ladies also helped the Hur fighters in their struggle against colonialist. A Hur lady, wife of Nuro Wassan, a Hur commander who was hanged by the administration in 1943, was arrested by the administration in one encounter. Following is a repot.

Government House, Karachi
18th May 1944

Mr. Conran Smith,

Law and Order....; Hurs:. During the last fortnight some success have been achieved by government forces and no new outrages of any importance have been committed by the Hurs. The tracking party eventually caught up with some of dacoits concerned in the Sultanabad dacoities (there were three dacoities altogether in the Sultanabad neighbourhood on the night of April 28th) and captured of them, both notorious Hurs, as well as a revolver which was identified as having

belonged to Ali Mohammed Mahar, murdered by the Hurs last September.

Then on 16 May a party of Police acting on information received from an arrested suspect made contact with a small party of Hurs and chased them out into the desert and back for a distance of 15 miles and finally had a stand-up fight with them, in which one notorious Hur, Murid Makhani, was killed and two others, also well-known, were captured wounded. A Sub-Inspector and a Head Constable were wounded. The remaining Hur escaped with the two women in their party. The women were captured later and one of them turned out to be the daughter of Jiando Wassan, who was kidnapped from Sanghar last month at the time when her father and mother and other Wassans were slaughtered by the Hurs. This crime was probably committed with her connivance. She had been previously married to Nuro Wassan, the Hur leader who was captured in 1943 and subsequently hanged. Two other arrests of Hur absconders, both with prices on their heads, were also made during the fortnight.

Yours sincerely
J. M. Sladen

Dow in a letter to the viceroy expressed fears that the deployment of army troops would be required to quash the remaining Hur bands. Following is a report.

Government House Karachi
19. 5. 1944

My Dear Wavell

The local successes against Hur bands are encouraging. I shall reply more fully to your recent letter on this subject, but I may say here that I see no reasonable grounds for any apprehensions that we shall again require assistance from the army on any considerable scale. I do not think that the recent demand for assistance was strictly justifiable, and had I known of it before it was made, I should not have given it my support. We must, however, expect these occasional attacks on those who have aided us, and it is impossible, given the nature of those whom we have to protect, to afford complete protection. Revenge and subsistence are the motives, which have led to all

recent attacks by small Hur bands, and there is no reason to apprehend a recurrence of trouble on any considerable scale.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The viceroy noticed that he needed more information from the governor regarding the Hur movement. Following is a report.

Viceroy's Camp (Naini Tal) India
27th/29th May 1944

My Dear Dow

I note that you will write more fully about the Hur problem. It is really important that we should incur no risk of a recrudescence. I agree that occasional outrages are to be expected, and that you cannot protect every individual against whom the Hurs may cherish a grudge.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

The viceroy voiced his reservation on the work of Sindh ministers. Following is a report.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
15/16th September 1944

My Dear Dow

I note the action you have decided to take in order to ensure that the Hurs are kept down. The problem certainly appears to be a long-term one, but I can understand the disappointment of your Ministers at not having solved it after a year of Martial. Law.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Again the viceroy was not happy with the efficiency of the ministers.

In the same report, he shared his views about the pension of the Pir Pagaro family. Following is a letter from Lord Wavell to Hugh Dow.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
30th October 1944

My Dear Dow,

Your Ministers are certainly an odd lot; I was amused at your suggestion.

I have received your letter of October 14th about motor transport for the Sindh Police Rifles and will do my best for you. I quite agree that it is essential that the Sindh Police Rifles should have reliable transport. War Transport Department has been asked whether they can spare some trucks.

I am also waiting for advice on your letter of October 12th bout pensions for the widows of the Pir Pagaro.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

The Premier of Sindh, Sir Ghulam Hussain, appointed Mir Ghulam Ali as the Home Minister in the place of Muhammad Hashim Gazdar. The viceroy expected him to take rigorous action against the Hur fighters. Following is a report.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
12th January 1945

My Dear Dow

Thank you for the information you give me about the new Home Minister. I trust he will harden his heart against the Hurs.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

The viceroy shared his opinion with the governor regarding the property and 'Gadi' of Pir Pagaro. Following is a report.

Viceroy's Camp India (Ganja - Biker)
27th January 1945

My Dear Dow,

I have now received advice on your letter No. 353/87 (b) dated 18th November about the Pir Pagaro's widows, and have seen an official letter, which is being sent by War Department to your Government. The Government of India will retain the immovable property of the Pir as a set off against the education of the late Pir's dependents, liability for which has already been accepted by them. The proposal is that the Provincial Government should meet the extra expenditure on the operations against the Hurs (about Rs. 26.5 lacs) and against this should set off the amount realised from the sale of the movable property (about Rs.10. 50 Lacs).

I note what you say about the alleged intention of Pir Rahim Shah to set himself up as successor to the Gadi. I agree that you will have to take firm line about this, though it is unfortunate that the Pirship has got mixed up

Yours sincerely
Wavell

While the detained Hurs were confined in settlements at Bombay, the British Administration pored over plans to banish them to the Andaman Islands. Sir Colville's (the officiating viceroy) letter to Dow.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
12th April 1945

Dear Dow,

In paragraph 10 you say that you hope the Hurs will be deported to the Andamans, which are available for the purpose. As we in Bombay hold a number of your Hurs I also have feelings on this subject and they agree with yours, but that is speaking from the provincial point of view and I do not know what Home Department here will say.

Yours sincerely
Colville

The Hur insurgency consistently continues from four years. The fight between Hur fighter Miro Nizamani and government forces took place near Matli. This situation confused the administration that this act will give a moral boost to Allah Bachayo Khaskeli's gang to launch more attacks. Following is a report by G.W. Mcelhinny to Richard Tottenham.

Government House Karachi
20th September 1945

Dear Richard Tottenham,

Law and Order ---- Further information is now available about the affair in which the Sindh Police Rifles lost two men killed on September 13 Miro Nizamani, a Hur outlaw with a price of Rs. 6000 on his head, was located with two companions in a garden near Matli in Hyderabad district. A force of two platoons of the Sindh Police rifles under captain Azamatullah was promptly dispatched from Hyderabad and arrived on the scene about 7.30 p.m. One of the three Hurs was killed in the first encounter, but the other two took up a very strong position in a disused watercourse overgrown with jungle, where they held out until dark and then managed to escape during the night, taking with them, not only the gun of their dead comrade but also the Stengun and rifle of the two dead members of the Sindh Police Rifles. The dead Hur proved to be Haji Gado, for whom a reward of Rs. 1, 000 had been offered. This is possible that this exploit of Miro Nizamani may provoke other Hur leaders such as Allah Bachayo Khaskeli to attempt something rash in order to maintain their own prestige, and so may give the police a long-sought opportunity.

Yours sincerely
G.W. Mcelhinny

The Sindh government requested the central government to promulgate an ordinance that would empower officials in the province to restrict and detain anybody. The central government invited the Sindh government to draw up the clauses of the legislation.

Following is a report.

Viceroy's Camp India
25th September 1945

My Dear Dow

Your Government will have to decide very soon what to do about the Hurs. We clearly cannot keep Ordinance 111 of 1944 in force indefinitely, and if any province needs special powers of detention and restriction there must be provincial legislation. We considered this matter in Council a few days ago, and the Home Department has sent an official letter to the provincial Government about it.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The Governor was feared and hastens to get help from centre regarding the problem of Hur detenus.

Government House Karachi
10th October 1945

Dear Lord Wavell,

The Hur detenus provide our only difficult problem in connection with repeal of the restriction and detention Ordinance. It is clear that these two thousand desperadoes cannot be at once let loose to terrorise the countryside and some temporary measure to legalise their continued detention must be devised. I am in correspondence with Menon and the Home Department about this, and hope that they will soon pass on to me your decision. I have little doubt that I shall able to carry my ministers with me in any measures, which are necessary.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

The British administrations made plans to award tracts of Lands to the troops stationed in Hur-dominated areas and seize the resources of the Sindh people. Their idea was to turn Sindhis into a minority on their own land.

Following is a report.

Viceroy's Camp India Srinagar
11th October 1945

My Dear Dow,
I have not yet acknowledged your letter of 26th September about the settlement of ex-servicemen in the Makhi Dhand area.

Jenkins has sent Barty a copy of the note given me by the Commander-in-Chief. An engineer officer is being sent to make a preliminary reconnaissance and I hope that there will be no avoidable delay.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Rahim Hingoro, a Hur rebellion attacked several government properties, a train near Behawalpur was among the attacks. The British government was not able to arrest this Hur insurgent, after partition he was arrested and put on gallows at Central prison Hyderabad. His fresh attack was on the forces of Khairpur State; his gang killed two members of the force and snatched one rifle.

The same report makes crystal-clear the Sindh government's plan to colonise the Sindh land by exservice men.

Government of Sindh
18th October 1945

Law and Order----There has been some Hur activity on the Khairpur border recently. On the night of October 1st at Othlahu in Khairpur, about twelve miles from the Sindh border, the Hingoro gang kidnapped and murdered a man who had helped the Khairpur military police. After committing their crime, the Hurs retired as usual towards the Makhi Dhand, pursued by the Khairpur military police. On reaching a favourable place within British territory, they laid an ambush, killed a police sepoy who was in advance of the main body

and escaped, abandoning two horses but taking with them the dead sepoy's rifle, ammunition and sword. Information of the crime at Othlahu was received by outlaws' tracks into the Makhi Jungles.

In view of the activity of the Hingoro gang in Jaisalmer, Khairpur and Sindh, arrangements are being made for the police of the three territories to communicate with each other by wireless. It is also hoped that the military authorities may be persuaded to lend the services of some Engineer Units equipped with bulldozers to clear the jungles of the Makhi Dhand and to get this area ready for colonization by ex-servicemen.

Even as the Hur movement continued, Viceroy Wavell seemed quite satisfied with the efforts of the Sindh Police Rifles. Following is a report.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
14th December 1945

My Dear Dow,

I am glad to hear that you were pleased with the Sindh Police Rifles when you saw them during your tour. I am sure they will be encouraged by their successful attack on the Hurs. I want to keep a close eye on the morale and equipment of the Police Forces in the Provinces so far as I can and I hope Sindh are taking advantage of the opportunity that has now occurred to obtain some up-to-date equipment for their ordinary police.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

Just before the British pulled out of the subcontinent nationalist leaders, such as G.M. Sayed, demanded the restoration of the "Gadi" of Pir Pagaro and the release of his incarcerated followers. But the colonialists did not brook any demands made in favour of Pir Pagaro. Report by the Chief Secretary of Sindh to Lord Mount batten.

Government House Karachi
19th July 1947

Dear Lord Mount batten,

Not the least disqualifying feature in the beginning of an attempt to revive an agitation for the restoration of Pir Pagaro's Gadi and for the release of the Hurs those who are now under detention or in settlements. It is incredible to what lengths political irresponsibility will go. Only the other day G.M. Sayed is reported to have issued a statement in the support of this move.

Pir Shah Mardan Shah II Crowned

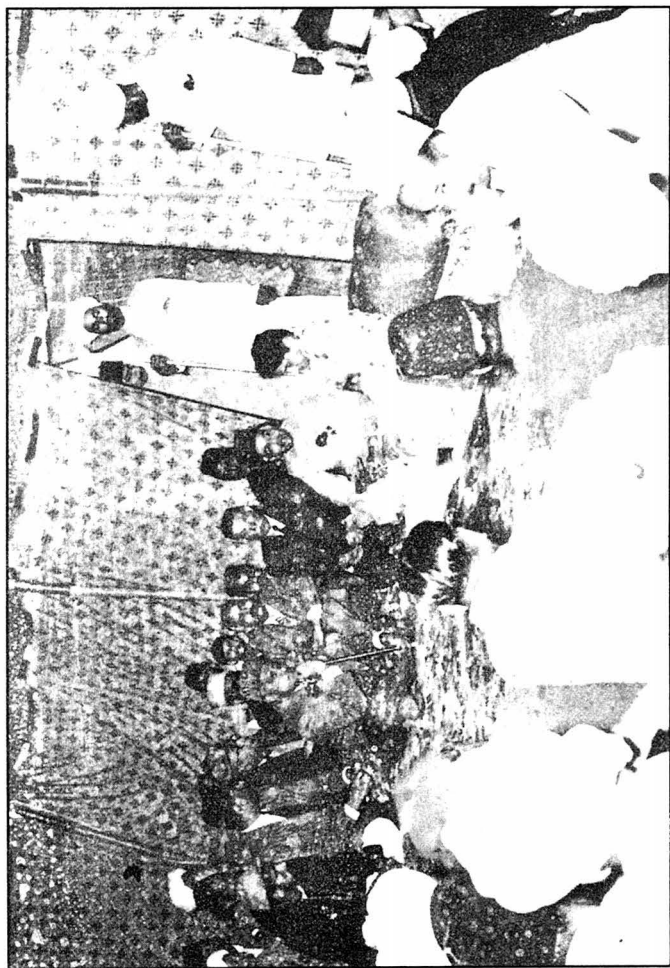
The Partition of the subcontinent came about a month later in August 1947. For all it was worth the Hurs who had relentlessly fought against the British did not get any relief or reward to their name. The bureaucracy, who became the ruling establishment of the newborn country, was the loyal servant of the British. They worked against the Hur movement and were opposed to the Gadi's restoration. Officials refused to dismantle the concentration camps.

The Hurs bore hardships for another four more years. In 1951, the government finally restored the Gadi and withdrew all restrictions on the Hurs. The reprieve came in response to pressure from the followers of Pir Pagaro. The same year Sayed Shah Mardan Shah, the eldest son of the martyr Sibghatullah Shah, along with his younger brother Nadir Ali Shah, returned to Sindh from England. Both the sons were forced into exile when they were still teenagers.

A gala enthronement ceremony was held at Pir jo Goth on 4th February 1952. Shah Mardan Shah II was crowned the seventh Pir Pagaro.

Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro was entrusted with the huge task of reorganising the oppressed Hur brotherhood. Through his skill and dedication, he reordered the Hur brotherhood into a well-knit unit again.

My good friend Ghazi Salahudin helped me secure two meetings with the present Pir Pagaro in connection with this book. Although I did not succeed in getting material in either of the meetings which lasted three hours, but I came

away with the feeling that Pir Pagaro was very much pleased with the success of his moderate political leanings and his efforts to reorganise the Hur brotherhood.

Pir Pagaro Shah Mardan Shah II Crowned

Pir Mohammed Rashid's seven scions that were crowned Pir Pagaro.

Pir Mohammed Rashid

Pir Sibghatullah I

Pir Ali Gohar Shah I

Pir Hizbullah Shah

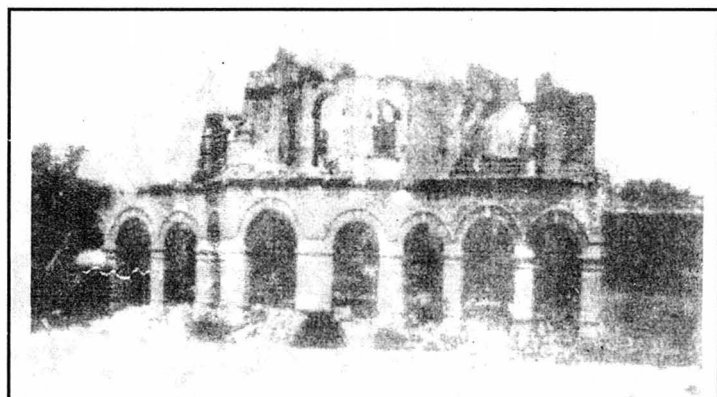
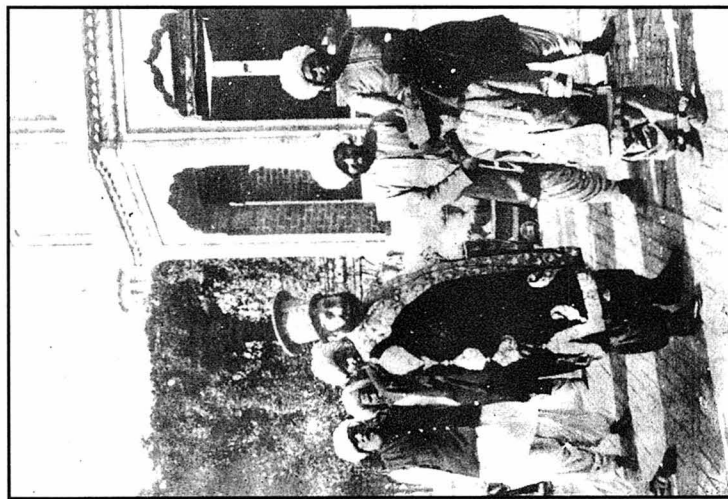
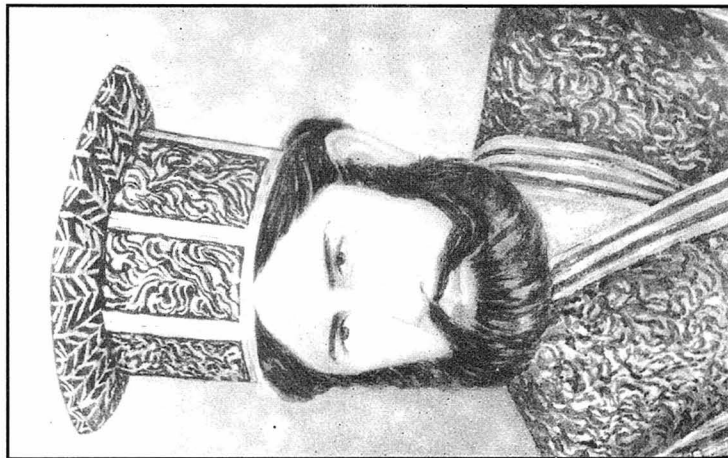
Pir Ali Gohar Shah II

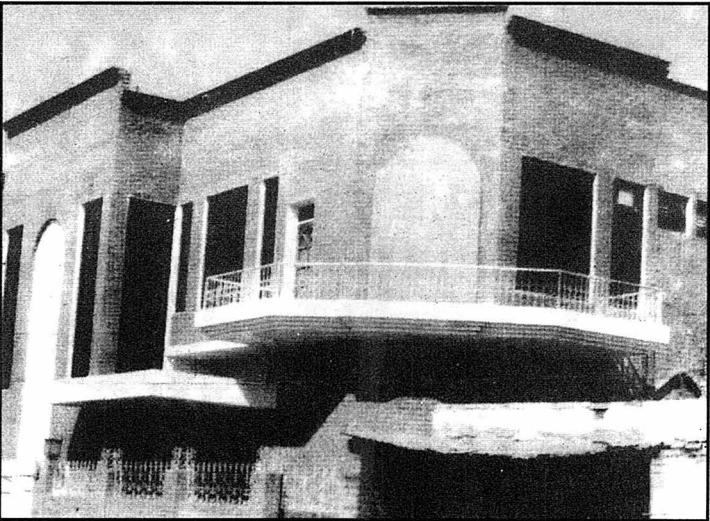
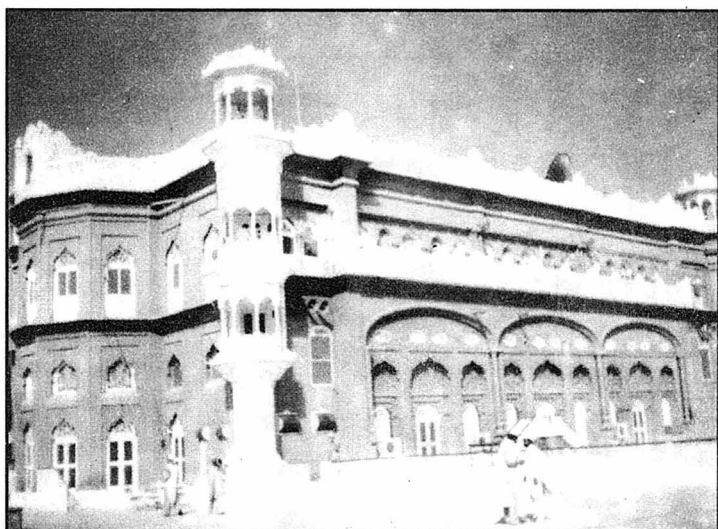
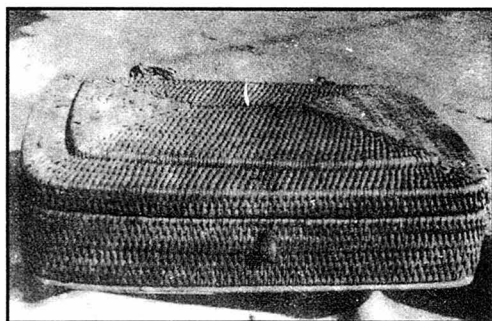
Pir Shah Mardan shah I

Pir Sibghatullah shah II

Pir Shah Mardan Shah II

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah II, Pir Pagaro

Main entrance of the mausoleum of Pir Rashid Shah

Ganang Bungalow (Near Sanghar Town)
bombed by the British

Sayed Shah Mardan Shah I
in the company of his followers

Sayed Hizbullah Shah Pir Pagaro

Madrassah-e-Jamia Rashdia, Pir-jo-Goth

Rashdia Library, Pir-jo-Goth

Ancestral home of Pir Pagaro family

Bag made of net prepared by
Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro
during his confinement in Ratnagiri Jail (India)

End Notes

1. The correspondence between the viceroy Lord Linlithgow and the governor of Sindh Hugh Dow is collected from, 'The British Library' London's section Oriental Indian Office collection (OIOC). File. F. 208/13 and F.208/14
2. The correspondence from the Viceroy Lord Wavell to the governor of the Sindh Hugh Dow, File E--372/8
3. The arrest and trial of the Pir Pagaro. F. 208/ 16
4. Letter of Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi to Governor of the Sindh Hugh Dow. F.208/16

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Glossary

Hazrat. = Honourable
Imam = A leader in religious affairs
Sayed = Descendant of Hazrat Ali and Sayeda Fatima
Pir = Mentor
Pir Pagaro = Pir of turban
Terth = Sacred place of Hindus
Shaheed = Martyred
Maulvi = Muslim clergy
Badshah = King
Vizier = Minister
Akhund = Mohammedan school-master
Sardar = Chief of the tribe
Nawab = Chief of the tribes
Khaddar = Local hand-woven cloth
Charka = A spinning-wheel
Khan of Kalat = Head of Kalat State
Masjid = Mosque
Keti = Piece of agricultural land in flooded area
Ghazi = A valiant man
Wahabi = A Muslim sect
Zamindar = Landlord
Khalifa = Assistant
Zulum = Cruelty
Murid = Disciple
Hazri = Roll-call
Bund = An embankment
Khilafat = Muslim Institute of ruling
Dargah = A Mohammedan shrine
Darbar = A court
Nazim = Head

Gadi = A throne
Modi = A shopkeeper who supplies provisions
Lekho = An account
Jamait = Organisation
Patel = Elder
Dacoity = Robbery

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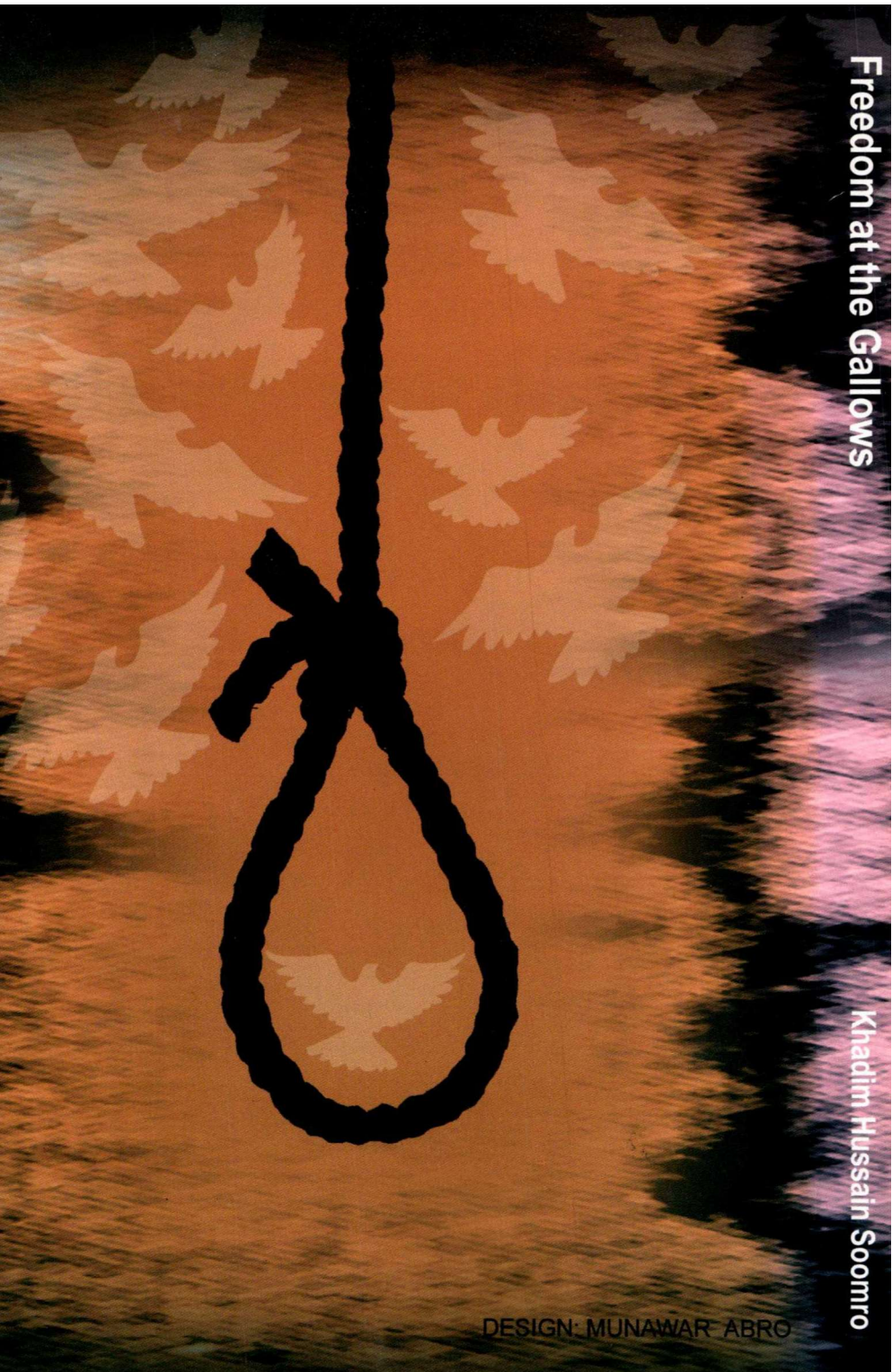
Freedom at the Gallows
Khadim Hussain Soomro
DESIGN: MUNAWAR ABRO

پڙهندڙ نَسُل . پَ نَ

The Reading Generation

1960 جي ڏهاڪي ۾ عبدالله حسين ” اُداس نسلين“ نالي ڪتاب لکيو. 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ وري ماڻڪَ ”لُڙهندڙ نَسُل“ نالي ڪتاب لکي پنهنجي دورَ جي عڪاسي ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش ڪئي. امداد حُسينيءَ وري 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ ئي لکيو:

انڌي ماءُ ڄڻيندي آهي اونڌا سونڌا ٻارَ
ايندڙ نسل سَمورو هوندو گونگا ٻوڙا ٻارَ

هر دور جي نوجوانن کي اُداس، لُڙهندڙ، ڪَڙهندڙ، ڪُڙهندڙ، ٻَرندڙ، ڇُرندڙ، ڪِرَندڙ، اوسيئڙو ڪَندڙُ، ياڙي، ڪاٺُو، ياجوڪَڙُ، ڪاوڙيل ۽ وِڙهندڙ نسلن سان منسوب ڪري سَگهجي ٿو، پَر اسان اِنهن سيني وِچان ”پڙهندڙ“ نسل جا ڳولائو آهيون. ڪتابن کي ڪاڳر تان ڪٽي ڪمپيوٽر جي دنيا ۾ آڻڻ، ٻين لفظن ۾ برقي ڪتاب يعنيٰ e-books ناهي ورهائڻ جي وسيلي پڙهندڙ نسل کي وَڌڻ، ويجهَڻ ۽ هِڪَ ٻِئي کي ڳولي سَهڪاري تحريڪ جي رستي تي آڻِڻَ جي آسَ رکون ٿا.

پڙهندڙ نَسل (پَـنَ) ڪا بہ تنظيمَ ناهي. اُنَ جو ڪو بہ صدر، عُهديدار يا پايو وِجهندڙ نہ آهي. جيڪڏهن ڪو بہ شخص اهڙي دعويٰ ڪري ٿو تہ پَڪَ ڄاڻو تہ اُهو ڪُوڙو آهي. نہ ئي وري پَنَ جي نالي ڪي پئسا گڏ ڪيا

ويندا. جيڪڏهن ڪو اهڙي ڪوشش ڪري ٿو ته پَڪَ ڄاڻو ته اُهو ڀِ ڪُوڙو آهي.

جَهڙيءَ طَرَح وڻن جا پَنَ ساوا، ڳاڙها، نيلا، پيلا يا ناسي هوندا آهن اَهڙيءَ طرح پڙهندڙ نَسُل وارا پَنَ بہ مختَلِف آهن ۽ هوندا. اُهي ساڳئي وقت اُداس ۽ پڙهندڙ، ٻَرندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ، سُست ۽ پڙهندڙ يا وِڙهندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ بہ ٿي سگهن ٿا. ٻين لفظن ۾ پَنَ ڪا خُصوصيِ ۽ تالي لڳل ڪِلَب Exclusive Club نہ آهي.

ڪوشش اها هوندي تہ پَنَ جا سڀ ڪَم ڪار سَهڪاري ۽ رَضاڪار بنيادن تي ٿين، پر ممڪن آهي تہ ڪي ڪم اُجرتي بنيادن تي بہ ٿِين. اهڙي حالت ۾ پَنَ پاڻ هِڪَٻِئي جي مدد ڪَرڻ جي اُصولَ هيٺ ڏي وَٺُ ڪندا ۽ غيرتجارتي non-commercial رهندا. پَنَن پاران ڪتابن کي ڊِجيِٽائِيز digitize ڪرڻ جي عَملَ مان ڪو بہ مالي فائدو يا نفعو حاصل ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش نہ ڪئي ويندي.

ڪتابن کي ڊِجيِٽائِيز ڪرڻ کان پو ٻيو اهم مرحلو وِرهائڻ distribution جو ٿيندو. اِهو ڪم ڪرڻ وارن مان جيڪڏهن ڪو پيسا ڪمائي سگهي ٿو تہ ڀلي ڪمائي، رُڳو پَنَن سان اُن جو ڪو بہ لاڳاپو نہ هوندو.

پَنَن کي ڪُليل اکرن ۾ صلاح ڏجي ٿي تہ هو وَسَ پٽاندڙ وڏِ کان وَڏِ ڪتاب خريد ڪَري ڪتابن جي ليکَڪَن، ڇپائيندڙن ۽ ڇاپيندڙن کي هِمٿائِن. پر ساڳئي وقت عِلم حاصل ڪرڻ ۽ ڄاڻ کي ڦهلائڻ جي ڪوشش دوران ڪَنهن بہ رُڪاوٽَ کي نہ مڃن.

شيخ اَيازَ علمَ، ڄاڻَ، سمجهہَ ۽ ڏاهپَ کي گيتَ، بيتَ، سِٽَ، پُڪارَ سان تَشبيهہ ڏيندي انهن سيني کي بَمن، گولين ۽ بارودَ جي مدِ مقابل بيهاريو آهي. اياز چوي ٿو تہ:

گيتَ بہِ جڻ گوريلا آهن، جي ويريءَ تي وار ڪَرن ٿا.

... ...

جئن جئن جاڙ وڌي ٿي جَڳَ ۾، هو ٻوليءَ جي آڙ ڇُپن ٿا؛
ريتيءَ تي راتاها ڪن ٿا، موٽي مَنجهہِ پهاڙ ڇُپن ٿا؛

... ...

ڪالهہَ هُيا جي سُرخ گُلن جيئن، اڄڪلهہ نيلا پيلا آهن:
گيتَ بہِ جڻ گوريلا آهن........

... ...

هي بيتُ اَٿي، هي بَم ـ گولو، جيڪي بہ ڪٽين، جيڪي بہ ڪٽين!
مون لاءِ ٻنهي ۾ فَرَقُ نہ آ، هي بيتُ بہ بَمَ جو ساٿي آ،
جنهن رِڻَ ۾ رات ڪَيا راڙا، تنهن هَڏَ ۽ چَمَ جو ساٿي آ ـ

اِن حسابَ سان اڻڄاڻائي کي پاڻَ تي اِهو سوچي مَڙهڻ تہ ”هاڻي ويڙهہ ۽ عمل جو دور آهي، اُن ڪري پڙهڻ تي وقت نہ وڃايو“ ناداني‌ءَ جي نشاني آهي.

پَنَ جو پڙهڻ عام ڪِتابي ڪيڙن وانگر رُڳو نِصابي ڪتابن تائين محدود نہ هوندو. رڳو نصابي ڪتابن ۾ پاڻ کي قيد ڪري ڇڏڻ سان سماج ۽ سماجي حالتن تان نظر ڪڄي ويندي ۽ نتيجي طور سماجي ۽ حڪومتي پاليسيون policies اڻڄاڻن ۽ نادانن جي هٿن ۾ رهنديون. پَنَ نِصابي ڪتابن سان گڏوگڏ ادبي، تاريخي، سياسي، سماجي، اقتصادي، سائنسي ۽ ٻين ڪتابن کي پڙهي سماجي حالتن کي بهتر بڻائڻ جي ڪوشش ڪندا.

پَڙهندڙ نَسُل جا پَنَ سيني کي **چو، چالاءِ ۽ ڪيئن** جهڙن سوالن کي هر بَيانَ تي لاڳو ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش ڏين ٿا ۽ انهن تي ويچار ڪرڻ سان گڏ جوابَ ڳولڻ کي پنهنجو حق، فرض ۽ اٽٽر گهرج unavoidable necessity سمجهندي ڪتابن کي پاڻ پڙهڻ ۽ وڌ کان وڌ ماڻهن تائين پهچائڻ جي ڪوشش جديد ترين طريقن وسيلي ڪرڻ جو ويچار رکن ٿا.

توهان بہ پڙهڻ، پڙهائڻ ۽ ڦهلائڻ جي اِن سهڪاري تحريڪ ۾ شامل ٿي سگهو ٿا. بَس پنهنجي اوسي پاسي ۾ ڏِسو، هر قسم جا ڳاڙها توڙي نيرا، ساوا توڙي پيلا پن ضرور نظر اچي ويندا.

وڻ وڻ کي مون ياڪِي پائي چيو تہ ”منهنجا ياءُ
پهتو منهنجي من ۾ تنهنجي پَنَ پَنَ جو پڙلاءُ“.
- اياز (ڪي جو بيجل بوليو)